Daily Report

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Soviet Union

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NOTICE TO READERS: On 6 May 1991, the DAILY REPORT will begin phasing in new radio and television sourcelines that reflect how a station identifies itself. This change eliminates the "Domestic Service" and "Television Service" designations in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Defense Committee Head on Arms Trade Controls

PM0105160091 Moscow IAN PRESS RELEASE in English 23 Apr 91

[Interview with Leonid Sharin, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee for Defense and National Security, by Ilya Kiselev; place and date not given: "Leonid Sharin on Arms Proliferation Control"]

[Text] Leonid Sharin, the Acting Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee for Defence and National Security, talks to Novosti's Ilya Kiselev about the Soviet Union's stand on arms proliferation control.

[Kiselev] In the Gulf the allied forces fought under United Nations colours against Iraq which built its war-making potential with the help of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Do you think it is time all exports of arms and military technology be stopped so that no other small nation can become an international threat?

[Sharin] I think the Soviet Union, like all the other permanent members of the Security Council, bears its share of responsibility for contributing to Iraq's war-making capability which went beyond reasonable sufficiency. But frankly, my opinion is that Baghdad's aggressive and reckless actions against the neighbouring friendly Arab state came as a surprise to many, our government included.

Attempts to revise the Soviet approach to arms proliferation have been made on more than one occasion. Thus, Mikhail Gorbachev's reply to the members of the Club of Rome in 1985 and the Soviet Foreign Minister's letter to the UN Secretary General of August 1990 both contained specific proposals to this effect.

Moreover, the Soviet Union has recently taken steps to curtail arms supplies to some volatile regions, including Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola and Cambodia; refused to supply Scud missiles to Iraq, and after the aggression was unleashed completely stopped arms supplies to Iraq. Naturally, the Soviet attitude to arms supplies is changing under the impact of general processes seeking to free foreign policy from an ideological slant.

[Kiselev] Nevertheless, is the USSR fully prepared to discontinue arms supplies or how far will it go in curtailing such supplies?

[Sharin] I think the issue of reduced arms supplies requires a balanced approach based on reciprocity, since unilateral steps will hardly have a positive effect, whoever takes them. If the other arms producers do not reciprocate, or if steps are not taken to settle regional conflicts, the void of the arms market will be immediately filled by other supplies, either traditional exporters or some third world countries which have embarked on the course of large-scale arms production under license. Unless conflicts are settled politically, mutual suspicion will remain to create a demand for new armaments. Therefore, the real question is whether the world community is prepared to effectively control and regulate arms sales, rather than whether the Soviet Union or any other country is prepared to discontinue arms supplies.

[Kiselev] What can facilitate a breakthrough towards a reduced arms trade?

[Sharin] Only a phased approach and concerted efforts by all states. You would know that the process has already got under way. A special UN group is preparing a study on ways to make international arms supplies more transparent. This is only a first step, but unless there is glasnost and openness in the arms trade, this important international problem can hardly be addressed.

[Kiselev] How large are Soviet arms sales?

[Sharin] They totalled 56 billion roubles in 1985-1989.

[Kiselev] On the initative of the US an agreement to control export of equipment and technology for nuclear-tipped missiles was concluded in 1987. The parties to the agreement are Canada, France, Germany, the US, Britain, Italy, Japan and recently Spain. The Soviet Union is not a party to the treaty although it is a major exporter of such missiles. Is it now the right time for the Soviet parliament to consider acceding to the agreement?

[Sharin] In 1987 seven Western nations did not conclude an agreement on the control of export of technologies for nuclear-tipped missiles. What they did conclude was an agreement on control of technologies and missiles of certain parameters. In particular, where operational missiles are concerned, the agreement covered missiles capable of delivering a payload of more than 500 kg to a distance of over 300 km. The type of warhead was of no importance, though, of course, the restrictions were primarily aimed against missiles capable of carrying nuclear and chemical warheads.

It follows from your question that the USSR is a major exporter of such missiles. But as far as I know, the only country the USSR supplied such missiles to was Afghanistan.

As for the Soviet Union's joining the agreement you mentioned, we are prepared to accede to this regime, but on equal terms. We described our stand in the Soviet-American statement on non- proliferation signed last July. Our proposal for participation in the regime on equal terms has not been considered yet by the signatories.

I have a feeling that they want us to abide by the treaty but would not accept our participation on equal terms with the others. The discriminatory CoCom restrictions with respect to our country are still in force. So, now the ball is in the Western court.

[Kiselev] What about nuclear arms? Some experts suggest the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty does not work effectively.

[Sharin] I cannot agree with that. By the number of signatory states—they are 141 now—the 1968 treaty is the most universal and authoritative arms-limitation agreement. True, the fact that China, France, Argentina, Brazil, India, Pakistan, Israel, South Africa and some other states have not acceded to the treaty gives us cause for concern. At the same time, thanks to the consistent efforts of many participants, including the USSR, these countries are now more likely than ever to join the nuclear non-proliferation regime in one form or another.

In 1995 a conference will be convened to decide on the future of the treaty. The further development of the world military-political situation will largely depend on the decision to be taken. If this important, though not quite ideal, instrument of maintaining stability in the world is not preserved, the threat to international security and the risk of conflicts will grow manifold.

At the same time, we should not ignore the fact that many states, including parties to the treaty, criticise nuclear powers for failure to meet their commitments to stop the nuclear arms race and promote nuclear disarmament. Naturally, the future of the non- proliferation treaty will largely depend on the progress at the Soviet-American talks on this set of problems, which includes among other things limitation and cessation of nuclear tests during the time left before 1995.

[Kiselev] Can any other specific steps be taken?

[Sharin] Fully aware of the threat new nuclear states could pose to our planet and our country, the Soviet Union seeks to make the 1968 treaty a treaty of unlimited duration. The Soviet government continues to actively cooperate with the US and Britain, the depositories of the treaty like the USSR, as well as with many other countries who are keenly interested in preserving and strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime.

[Kiselev] Premier Mulroney of Canada proposed that a world summit be convened under the UN auspices to limit trade in military hardware, and, first and foremost, to prevent proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological armaments, as well as of ballistic missiles. What is the Soviet reaction to this proposal?

[Sharin] As far as I know, the Soviet leaders positively responded to Mulroney's proposal. I think the problem should be viewed in a broad international context, involving both suppliers and receivers of arms. Here, the UN has an important role to play, the more so since discussions on the issue of the world arms trade have already started at this organisation.

[Kiselev] What kind of agreements and on what terms could the USSR accept in principle?

[Sharin] It is too early to speak of a potential agreement. We should first limit arms supplies on the basis of reciprocity, and in the context of political solutions to regional conflicts.

Group Observes Cruise Missiles' Destruction

LD0205055391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2246 GMT 1 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolev]

[Excerpts] Washington, 2 May (TASS)—The last consignment of U.S. land-based cruise missiles subject to elimination in accordance with the treaty between the USSR and the United States on medium- and shorter-range missiles was destroyed on Wednesday at the Davis-Monthan Air Base. [passaged omitted]

Under the terms of the agreement, this was observed by a group of Soviet military inspectors that arrived in the United States. Speaking before the start of the official ceremony, the head of the Soviet experts, Lt. Gen. V.N. Medvedev stressed that from now on "1 May will also be known to the whole world as the day of the elimination of medium-range land-based cruise missiles, which took place in Arizona." [passage omitted]

Group Leader Comments

LD0105142991 Moscow International Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] In accordance with the Soviet-U.S. missile treaty, the last group of land-based cruise missiles will be destroyed in the United States on 1 May, while the last Pershings will be destroyed on 6 May. On 12 May the Soviet Union will destroy its last (?R2 10) missile—it is of the same class. This will be done at the missile-testing centre in Kazakhstan.

Lieutenant General Vladimir Medvedev, commander of the center that deals with the reduction of the nuclear threat, has given a statement about the significance of this event.

It is this event that completes the three-year period of elimination; that is, I would say this is the principal phase of the validity of the missile agreement, Lt. Gen. Vladimir Medvedev told our correspondent. During this period we have destroyed an extraordinarily large number of missiles; the Soviet Union has destroyed 1,846 while the United States has destroyed 846. We may say that we have certainly fulfilled the aim of the treaty—namely, the destruction of the medium- and shorter-range missiles.

From a military standpoint, the mission of the missiles was their employment in the European theater. It was precisely for this reason that their destruction was important, primarily in view of European (?detente). Through this we have contributed in a significant degree to the progress of mankind on the road to nuclear disarmament.

The event is also important because this is the first practical step in the sphere of (?advancement), and we have completed this in its entirety. We expect that it will open the road toward further significant measures in the process of nuclear disarmament.

Recently, at the arms reduction negotiations, including those in Europe, a certain crisis of confidence has developed. Would it not be possible to overcome that by using the experience gained in the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. missile treaty? The three-year duration of the treaty, Lt.Gen. Medvedev says, has passed extraordinarily smoothly from the point of view of confidence in the two sides. This, naturally, does not mean that no questions were raised between the two sides against each other. There were such questions on both the technical and the organizational level, and there were even problems whose tone was political. We have, however, succeded quite quickly in resolving the overwhelming majority of these problems.

The treaty has provided the means for direct contacts between military personnel who deal with the operation of military technology. This contact was extraordinarily useful because contact between individuals made possible an assessment of the ideas of those whom we had described in the past as our enemies.

Hopes for 'Success' Emerging at Vienna Talks

PM2504093791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[Correspondent S. Tosunyan report: "Hopes of Success Have Appeared"]

[Text] Vienna—There have been times at the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe when the atmosphere of mutual understanding was ousted by difficult arguments. Delegations from 22 countries used to resolve a multitude of complex problems in one fell swoop—but then the misunderstandings began to show, and the dialogue would slow down and sometimes come to a standstill.

Throughout the February-March round, the barometer of the talks only showed "overcast." The euphoria generated by the successful conclusion of work on the document that was then submitted to the participants in the Paris summit meeting and received their approval was replaced by a skirmish over two Soviet divisions that had been transferred to the naval forces. The West claimed that this was contrary to the treaty and that the divisions were scheduled to be disbanded. Our military experts objected—the transfer of the divisions occurred before the document was signed; therefore, no violations were committed. The search for a compromise began. There have recently been meetings between representatives of a number of countries participating in the talks. As a result, it seems that the possibility of surmounting the problem has taken shape. The diplomats believe it is important that the talks not get bogged down. In the meantime, the joint consultative group has been clarifying the positions of the sides and preparing proposals, and the various groups have been continuing their work.

On 18 April the Soviet delegation submitted a working document for discussion concerning stabilization measures. Specifically, it proposes that states participating in the talks limit personnel and military hardware to a defined level when undertaking maneuvers and give prior notification of the purpose of any given military activity and the number of reservists being called up to participate in field exercises.

The talks between 34 countries on confidence-building measures and security in Europe have also resumed. There has been an exchange of information about military forces and plans to deploy arms systems and hardware. The participants in the forum are unanimous in the opinion that this event is out of the ordinary, because there has never before been such an all-embracing exchange of military information in the history of the CSCE process. Intensive preparations are under way for the second seminar on military doctrines, to be held in Vienna with the participation of the chiefs of general staffs and other high-ranking military chiefs of the European countries, as well as the United States and Canada. In a word, with the start of the new round, hopes for a successful conclusion of the talks have appeared.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Briefs Press 26 Apr

Assesses Baker-Bessmertnykh Talks

LD2604143591 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 26 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The Soviet Union and the U.S. are to hold more contacts between each other and with other countries in a search for ways to settle the Middle East problem, a Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing in Moscow today.

Vitaliy Churkin made this statement in reply to a question about the talks in Kislovodsk on Thursday between Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

He noted that when pursuing these contacts both countries will negotiate with all interested sides, without differentiating between them.

Churkin made it clear that the task now is to elaborate a mechanism for settling the Middle East problem, which the Soviet Foreign Minister and U.S. Secretary of State discussed in Kislovodsk. He recalled that in current conditions there is a real chance of settlement or, as Baker told journalists on Thursday, "the window of possibilities".

Churkin emphasised that one of the results of Thursday's talks is that the Soviet Union and the United States will "co-sponsor a world conference" on the Middle East.

Dwelling on the possible steps that the two great powers can take in nearest future to unblock the old knot, Churkin said the Soviet and U.S. sides "have a certain scope for creative diplomatic work."

Having acknowledged that this is "complex, difficult work", he noted at the same time that the task is to find common ground through joint efforts in order to "begin and then to continue" efforts of comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

"Success is not guaranteed," Churkin continued, "but we believe that the great powers must use every opportunity to try to solve the problem".

On the sides' position regarding the Soviet-U.S. summit this year, Churkin said a brief exchange of views on the issue between Bessmertnykh and Baker showed that "there are no differences in Soviet and U.S. positions on the meeting".

The two men, he added, said the meeting must take place as planned in the first half of the year and that the START Treaty "can be signed" during it.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1416 GMT transmits a "corrected version" of this item, which corrects the previous paragraph to read as follows: "He added that an agreement has been reached to conduct the meeting in the first half of the year and that the START Treaty "can be signed" during it."]

He said it was possible that the meeting could end without the treaty being signed.

Reports Bessmertnykh-Wakil Meeting

LD2604144191 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 26 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh today received Afghanistan's Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil who stopped over in Moscow on the way from Kabul to New York, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

Questions related to the situation in Afghanistan in the light of the latest developments had been discussed. 'Abdul Wakil had informed the Soviet side of the facts concerning Pakistan's support for the Afghan armed opposition during the events in Khowst, Churkin said. The sides had noted that this interference in Afghan affairs violated the Geneva accords and was impermissible.

The ministers had again spoken in favour of a political settlement to the Afghan problem. "They expressed the hope for further efforts also in the United Nations, to bring closer the attitudes of the sides in the interest of an early political settlement, termination of war and establishment of peace in Afghanistan," Churkin said. It was emphasised that it is for Afghans to adopt specific decisions.

Bessmertnykh and Wakil confirmed the USSR's and Afghanistan's striving to conduct the course aimed at the development of cooperation on a basis of mutual advantage and consideration for each other's interests.

On Progress in Talks With PRC

LD2604145191 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 26 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The fifth round of Soviet-Chinese talks on border issues began in Moscow today. The Chinese Government delegation is headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and the Soviet delegation—by Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin said at a briefing here today.

According to Churkin, the sides intend to sum up the results of the efforts of working groups, aimed at specifying the border line between the Soviet Union and

China, and recording legally the border sections in the eastern part, on which agreement has been reached. During the current talks it is planned to initial the agreement between the two countries on the eastern part of the Soviet-Chinese border.

The Chinese Government delegation will stay in Moscow until April 29, Churkin said.

Supports Ethiopian Peace Initiative

LD2604154891 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 26 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—"Being guided by the principled course of a peaceful settlement of the internal Ethiopian situation, the Soviet Union is ready to use everything in its power to promote a broad and constructive political dialogue in Ethiopia on the basis of a new peace initiative of Ethiopia's National Assembly," Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's information directorate, told TASS.

The extraordinary session of Ethiopia's National Assembly (Shengo) proposed peace negotiations with all opposition groups, which advocate Ethiopia's unity to attain an agreement on durable peace and a transitional structure in the country.

The Soviet side, Churkin said, has lately been undertaking vigorous efforts to direct the thriving conflicts in Ethiopia into the channel of a political settlement. The USSR therefore received with approval these proposals, prompted by the awareness of enormous responsibility for Ethiopia's destiny."

"We believe that the Ethiopian parliament's initiative opens up a possibility of ending the bloodshed and bringing long-awaited peace to that country", the Soviet diplomat said.

"In the present conditions, this appears to be the correct way of ensuring Ethiopia's peaceful democratic development on a long-term basis." He expressed hope that the call for peace would be heeded by all it is addressed to.

"We hope that the world community as a whole, as well as separate countries, which have become involved to one extent or another in the search for ways for a peaceful settlement of the conflict and normalisation of the situation in the African Horn area will speak up in favour of such a dialogue," Churkin said.

Views Salvadoran Peace Prospects

LD2604165491 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 26 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Excerpts] Moscow April 26 TASS—The Soviet Union and the U.S. are to hold more contacts between each other and with other countries in a search for ways to settle the Middle East problem, a Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing in Moscow today. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the process of peaceful settlement in El Salvador, Churkin noted that the UN-mediated round of talks between the Salvadoran Government and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, currently under way in Mexico, "is marked by an enhanced desire of the two sides for bringing their positions closer together, by the concentration of efforts to tackle the paramount problems of settlement."

The Soviet spokesman expressed hope that the Salvadoran Government and the Front will do everything possible for the successful completion of peace dialogue. [passage omitted]

Urges Cambodian Arms Supply Ban

LD2604155591 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT 26 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Postanogov and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The Soviet Union considers as "very timely" the April 22 appeal by the U.N. secretary general and foreign ministers of France and Indonesia, who are co-chairmen of the international Paris conference on Cambodia, to Cambodian sides to agree to a cease-fire voluntarily from May 1 and thus create favourable conditions for the successful meeting of their representatives with Cambodia's Highest National Council in Jakarta.

A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry told a briefing in Moscow here today that the appeal helped create a climate of trust between the Cambodian sides and, eventually, speed up the attainment of a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian problem.

It is important now for the appeal "to be heeded by all Khmer sides and to find an adequate response from them".

Vitaliy Churkin welcomed the statement by the Cambodian Government of April 24 this year in support of the statement.

The Soviet side believes, Churkin said, that it would be important to follow up the cease-fire in Cambodia with a moratorium on foreign arms supplies to all Cambodian sides, which would also facilitate the earliest attainment of the political settlement.

"Considering that many participants in the Cambodian settlement, including the USSR, U.S., China and others, favoured such a step on many occasions," Churkin

noted, "the Soviet side is prepared to discuss immediately with the interested sides practical issues of the termination of arms supplies to Cambodia".

Gremitskikh Views DPRK Nuclear Issues

LD1804174791 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 18 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Postanogov, Sergey Ryabikin and Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—The Soviet Union favours the earliest possible signing of an agreement between North Korea and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to put under the agency's control all elements of Pyongyang's nuclear activities, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

Prospects for Soviet cooperation with North Korea will depend on this agreement, the spokesman added.

He dealt with this question in connection with suggestions by some analysts that the South Korean side will raise the question on Soviet nuclear fuel deliveries for nuclear facilities in North Korea at the upcoming meeting between South Korean President No Tae-u and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Cheju island.

Gremitskikh noted that one nuclear reactor, built in North Korea in 1964 with Soviet assistance, has been under the IAEA's control for a long time. The Soviet Union supplies nuclear fuel for the reactor in strict conformity both with the non-proliferation treaty and the IAEA charter".

As for the allegations about Soviet deliveries of plutonium to North Korea, the spokesman said that "the Soviet Union has not made such deliveries either to North Korea or any other country."

U.S. Attitude Toward Mideast Peace Viewed

LD3004133791 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Vladimir Pelikov commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: we continue with our programs from Moscow, and now present to you in our weekly program A View From Cairo a commentary by PRAVDA's Egyptian correspondent Vladimir Pelikov on U.S. policy in the Middle East. Here is what he told us by telephone:

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's third tour of the Middle East in recent weeks ended suddenly because of his mother's death. Nonetheless, there is no point, as Pelikov thinks, of continuing the tour because Washington has again chosen the old road: It suffices to look at the differences between the U.S. attitudes toward Iraq the aggressor and Israel the aggressor. In the first case, it is permeated with conditions of strength, firmness, and nonappeasement; however, the U.S. secretary of state's language in Tel Aviv is totally different in that it is characterized more by ingratiation and persuasion than demands.

Vladimir Pelikov added: The nature of the U.S. attitude is a clear indicator of its intentions. It shows that Washington does not consider Israeli aggression illegitimate like Iraq's aggression. Consequently, it does not exert much effort to eliminate its consequences. This view is supported by looking at the issues that Baker discussed during his tour: Should Europe be represented alongside the United States and the Soviet Union in the regional conference? Will such a conference be an independent institution or a mere cover for direct talks? What role should the United Nations play in the conference? Who will represent the Palestinians in it? All these, it seems, are tangible and core questions. According to Pelikov, however, they are undoubtedly secondary, and the talks are not centered on the principal issue, which is that Israel should withdraw its forces from the occupied territories, as stipulated by the Security Council's resolution and on the fact that the Palestinians should obtain their right to self-determination in accordance with the numerous UN resolutions.

Vladimir Pelikov went on to say: To be sure, not only Israel but also the United States itself has not yet recognized the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. This, it would seem, is fertile ground for Arab diplomatic activity: Why has the question of making a resolution in this regard not been put before the Security Council? Upon examining the Arab capitals, however, you will find that many of them do not want to annoy the United States: Kuwait, for instance, is concerned about the presence of American forces on its territory; Riyadh is hoping to buy weapons from across the ocean; and Cairo is trying to obtain support in confronting the IMF!

James Baker had spoken a short while ago about a window of opportunity to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. Vladimir Pelikov added: I do not understand the aim: [words indistinct] Iraq or defaming the PLO and, as a result of that, improving the chances of imposing a solution on the Arabs that conforms, above all, with Israel's interests?

In conclusion, Vladimir Pelikov said: I think that the window of opportunity has always existed but has now become wider, if what we are referring to the opportunities available to the United States to show the world that it is indeed prepared to work in accordance with the high principles of international law and not in accordance with its interests alone.

Economist Cited on 'Big Seven' Experts' Session

PM0205090591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 May 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with Soviet economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the center for economic and political studies,

by I. Demichenko; place and date not given: "Will the 'Big Seven' Help Us?"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] A session of the council of experts of the group of the world's seven most industrially developed countries: the United States, Britain, France, Japan, the FRG, Italy, and Canada. One of the authors of the "500 days" program, Soviet economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, leader of the center for economic and political studies, took part in and addressed this conference, which was held at the U.S. State Department. Upon his return he agreed to answer a few questions.

[Demchenko] Who belongs to the group of advisers of the "big seven," and what is the importance of the decisions they have elaborated?

[Yavlinskiy] The conference's official documents state that the group consists of about 100 leading international experts in the field of economic policy and businessmen. The majority of the council's members are current or former officials of the "big seven" countries who have held posts as ministers of finance, central bank managers, and so forth. Former Japanese Prime Minister N. Takeshita is honorary chairman of the council.

The council of experts claims to hold what are on the professional plane the broadest and most profound economic debates aimed at elaborating political decisions in the economic field. As for the acceptance and execution of the elaborated recommendations by the heads of state, that is determined by the high prestige of the advisers.

[Demchenko] What were the aims of the recent conference?

[Yavlinskiy] It elaborated recommendations for the conference of the "big seven" heads of state, which it is planned to hold in London this summer. In this connection there was a discussion of problems connected with these states' economic policy regarding other countries. For instance, there was detailed talk about whether this policy should be of an administrative or indirect nature and whether influence on the world economy should be expressed in a direct form—for instance in the form of the centralized setting of the currency exchange rate—or whether it should be influence through economic and political levers.

A great deal of attention was paid to questions of increasing the population's inclination toward saving as a means of combating inflation—the most important element of financial policy. There was a discussion of problems connected with the present crisis, the banking system in the United States, prices for oil, and questions of free trade. All the experts agreed that the main aim, the basic principle of world financial policy is the maintenance of prices stability. If the countries of the "seven" agree on these questions, then one can expect success. Is that not reminiscent of something?

[Demchenko] Did the conference discuss questions connected with our country?

[Yavlinskiy] One of the four sessions was entirely devoted to the package of problems connected with the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries.

[Demchenko] What do you believe serves as the reason for such direct interest in our problems?

[Yavlinskiy] The point is that what is taking place in the Soviet Union is of great importance for the world economy. For instance, all of Eastern Europe depends on our sources of energy and if the recession continues in the Soviet Union, the West will have to assume concern for all our former brothers in the socialist camp. In addition the Eastern European countries do not have markets for the sale of their output. The disruption of all these proportions is naturally having a great influence on all world financial and economic policy.

[Demchenko] In your opinion, for these countries is the question of continuing aid to the Soviet Union a question of good will or of vital necessity?

[Yavlinskiy] They have various viewpoints on this score. Some experts have expressed the view that there is nothing unexpected in what is happening in the Soviet Union—they simply have to wait until we put ourselves to rights. Others said that it is in the interests of the whole world for the situation to be stabilized as rapidly as possible, that positive processes must be assisted. It seemed to me that there were considerably more of those adhering to the latter viewpoint.

[Demchenko] How may the aid from the "big seven" be expressed?

[Yavlinskiy] If it is obvious to them that we are carrying out effective reforms which are improving people's position and correspondingly increasing political stability in the country and in the world and if the certainty appears that the efforts which have been made will be fruitful, then they are ready to take part in reform not only financially but also technically, intellectually, organizationally, and so forth. So, as usual, it all depends on us.

China

Ivashko on Jiang Zemin's Upcoming Moscow Visit

OW0205014191 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 1 May 91

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In an interview with this station's reporters (Garipov) and (Solojin), [Vladimir] Ivashko [deputy secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee] said: Today is May Day, International Labor Day. I wish the Soviet people and our Chinese friends a happy life, living in harmony, and prosperity. In one word, I extend my sincere greetings to everyone on this occasion. When asked what he expected of the USSR visit in May by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, Ivashko said: In the last few decades, the Soviet Union and China, the CPSU and the CPC, and the people of our two countries have maintained fruitful relations. This is (?history); we cannot (?erase) it. However, since Gorbachev visited China in May 1989, I can say that a new chapter has been opened in the relations between our two countries, between our two parties, and between the people of our two countries. I visited China a few months ago. During my visit, I had fruitful meetings and talks with our Chinese comrades. I met with General Secretary Jiang Zemin; our conclusion was that a large amount of potential had not been exploited in developing relations in the economic, cultural, science, political, and other fields. I think Comrade Jiang Zemin's upcoming visit to the Soviet Union will accelerate the development of relations between our two countries and parties, and will raise these relations to a new level. Therefore, the Soviet people are looking forward to the upcoming high-level visit, and hoping that it will be a complete success. In conclusion, Ivashko said a new decision will be made after talks.

Finance Official on Recent Visit to PRC

OW0205055291 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] In response to the invitation of the People's Congress of China, the Supreme Soviet's Planning, Budget and Finance Commission delegation led by its deputy chairman (Shakhunin) visited China last week. Our station correspondents (Machenko) and (Kalipov) interviewed the delegation on their return to Moscow.

(Shakhunin) said: The objective of our visit was to understand the situation of China's economic reform, especially in the areas relevant to the commission's work such as finance, budgeting, and taxation. We have successively visited Beijing, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, met with some state and provincial leaders, and visited several industries and enterprises. The visit was fruitful and very beneficial from a practical point of view. We saw with our own eyes that our eastern neighbor has achieved very significant results in improving the economy and the people's standard of living during the last few years. Granted, China also has its problems; however, these problems can all be overcome as the target of their strategic goal is correct, that is, to bring to play the individuals' initiative and to combine the benefits of labor and materials to mobilize the people's initiative. China began their reform earlier than we did, and it was also carried out very resolutely right from the start.

The reporters asked (Shakhunin): From your point of view, what kind of lesson can our country draw from the China experience?

(Shakhunin) said: The aspect of China's reform which interests us most is that both the Soviet Union and China had a similar system of forced centralized control of the economic and political life when reform started. China is implementing the reform measures in a gradual, step-by-step, and continuous manner. The Chinese people are determined to attain a certain goal and do not allow themselves to swing from one extreme to another; as such, China has a clear-cut vision of the future. This was felt throughout all our meetings and talks. Our Chinese friends can always confidently say what their factories will be able to achieve in one year or in two years. I think this kind of confidence is to a very large extent representative of China's social and political stability, and the effectiveness of its political organs in all localities.

(Shakhunin) also said that this may be the major lesson learned from the delegation's visit to China. By comparing the political situation of the two countries, it is easy to see that very big damage has been caused by the uncoordinated actions between the Soviet central government and the other union republics, and the so-called legal battle, whereby political organs and supervision organs at lower levels, primarily at the oblast level or even at the local level, take no responsibility to carry out decisions of higher level organs. The unity of the whole nation and all nationalities is an absolute precondition for the Soviet Union to achieve success in its reform.

Last, (Shakhunin), head of the Supreme Soviet delegation said: On behalf of my Supreme Soviet colleagues, I would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to China for their warm hospitality and their frank attitude during our meetings and talks. We felt like we were at own home in China although we were thousands of miles away from Moscow.

Northeast Asia

Sakhalin Governor Blasts Gorbachev Over Islands

OW2704083191 Tokyo KYODO in English 0817 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, the Soviet Union, April 27 KYODO—Sakhalin Governor Valentin Fedorov said

Saturday that a recent Soviet-Japanese joint statement on the two countries' territorial dispute ignored the feelings of local residents.

The statement, issued during Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's April 16-19 visit to Japan, said both sides had agreed that the dispute—over four Soviet-held islands off Hokkaido—should be resolved in any future peace treaty.

While Gorbachev did not pledge to return the islands, the statement acknowledges the existence of a dispute over the islands and for the first time lists them by name.

Fedorov told KYODO NEWS SERVICE he could not understand why Gorbachev had compromised on the issue, saying he was concerned this could set a precedent for future negotiations on the islands.

He warned that any agreement made without the consent of the islands' residents could not be realized, adding that the time has passed when Moscow could control local affairs.

Fedorov accompanied Gorbachev to Japan but abruptly flew home two days earlier than scheduled, expresssing dissatisfaction that he was not allowed to attend talks between Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and the Soviet leader.

Gorbachev, reporting friday to the Supreme Soviet on his trip to Japan and South Korea, reiterated the Kremlin's refusal to return the islands to Japanese rule.

Fedorov said he welcomed a Soviet proposal to allow Japanese to visit the disputed islands without visas and called for a similar step for Soviet islanders visiting Japan.

He supported a Soviet decision to reduce military forces deployed on the islands and urged Japan to slash its Self-Defense Forces stationed on Hokkaido.

Fedorov said mutual troop reductions should be discussed at a foreign ministers' meeting scheduled in July in Moscow.

Nuclear Tension on Korean Peninsula Assessed

SK0205023591 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Station commentator Oleg Alekseyev commentary from the "Today's World" program]

[Text] Speaking to the 85th Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU] meeting now being held in Pyongyang, DPRK President Kim Il-song has said that the Korean Peninsula must be turned into a nuclear-free zone. This is not the first time Pyongyang advanced a proposal to turn the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, said our station commentator Oleg Alekseyev.

This issue is an urgent matter. This is because the U.S. forces based in South Korea, on the peninsula, have a massive stockpile of nuclear weapons. It is a well-known fact that approximately 1,000 nuclear warheads are concentrated on the South. Considering the continued tension on the Korean Peninsula, it is needless to say how dangerous these stockpiles of nuclear weapons are.

Considering the positive changes in the world, Washington adopted a decision last year that the U.S. troops in the South of the Korean Peninsula would be reduced to a certain extent. As of today, 43,000 troops are being stationed. By 1993, the forces will be reduced by 7,000. I have not heard that portions, at least, of nuclear weapons that are stockpiled by the U.S. forces would be withdrawn from the South.

It is naive to expect that Washington and Seoul would make an affirmative response to the proposal which Kim Il-song advanced in Pyongyang. Mistrust which has accumulated over scores of years remains strong. Therefore, it is correct to say that such an issue can be resolved easily. The issue concerning international inspection of the DPRK's nuclear facilities has been unresolved. Under these circumstances, it will be very difficult to agree on any reasonable measure to achieve military and political detente on the Korean Peninsula.

However, there are also reasons to be optimistic about the situation. First of all, the fact that Seoul and Pyongyang have expressed their willingness to resume government-level dialogue, which began last year, is one reason. As is known, Pyongyang suspended this dialogue a short while ago on the grounds that the ROK and the United States have persisted in the Team Spirit exercise.

Speaking to the opening session of the meeting, the DPRK president pointed out that Pyongyang is willing to resume the North-South premier-level dialogue. Also, it is very symbolic that the ROK parliamentarian delegation is participating in this IPU meeting. Such participation was unthinkable just a few while ago.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Moscow Stresses Importance of Cambodian Cease-Fire

BK0205045891 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 1 May 91

[Aleksey Kondratyev commentary]

[Text] The first day of May can become a date worth remembering for solving the Cambodian problem. The UN Secretary General and the cochairmen of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia, namely the foreign ministers of Indonesia and France, have proposed that Cambodian factions observe a cease-fire starting from 1 May. Phnom Penh and the tripartite Cambodian opposing side have agreed to this.

The appeal for a cease-fire has been supported by Moscow, Beijing, Hanoi, and other capitals. We still have not received reports on the attitudes the Cambodian sides will adopt. One thing is clear however.

Without a cease-fire, the normalization of the situation cannot be undertaken because amidt the sound of gunfire, machine guns, and cannons, it is very difficult to hear the sound of reason and objectively assess the situation in Cambodia where no one group can achieve its goal through fighting on the battlefield. This truth has been confirmed by recent armed clashes.

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council have managed to work out a framework document for solving the Cambodian problem. Apparently not all details and aspects of a solution have been taken into account in this plan. No matter how good this plan is, it cannot be implemented without the cooperation and goodwill from all warring Cambodian forces if the latter do not make mutual concessions. Concessions can be made only when the parties meet at a negotiating table within the framework of Cambodia's Supreme National Council. The next meeting of this council is planned to be held in Jakarta.

The international community can provide assistance to achieve reconciliation among the Cambodian sides when the latter meet in the Indonesian capital. It is obvious that the conflict in Cambodia can be said to be fueled by weapons brought in from outside for warring parties. Therefore, the transport of weapons to Cambodia should be quickly stopped and under UN control. It ought to be said that this idea is currently supported by Cambodia's neighbors, namely Laos and Vietnam, countries which are ready to ban the transport of weapons through their territories. Favorable conditions could be created for starting peace talks among Cambodian parties.

However, let me iterate that the primary and necessary condition for starting this kind of talks is a cease-fire, concludes our observer, Comrade Aleksey Kondratyev.

Commentary on Joint Thai-U.S. Military Exercise

BK0205084591 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1300 GMT 1 May 91

[Viktor Vinogradov commentary]

[Text] The statement on the purpose of the joint Thai-U.S. military exercise Cobra Gold 91 during 8-28 May said it was intended to strengthen Thailand's stability and promote its policy of good neighborliness in the region, as well as enhance the Thai armed forces' combat efficiency. The combat efficiency claim is not an issue to be questioned, because it is obvious that a purpose of a military exercise is to raise the national defense efficiency. But one wonders how a military exercise could help strengthen stability, let alone promote good neighborly relations.

Both Washington and Bangkok made no mention of the sizes of the participating forces or the weapons involved. This joint military exercise Cobra Gold is the 10th between the two countries. Based on the Cobra Gold in the past years, at least 10,000 soldiers will participate and involve such weapons as modern tanks, artillery, aircraft, and observers think ships as well. U.S. infantrymen, marines, and paratroopers are on their way from Japan, the Philippines, and Hawaii to the exercise sites. Past experience indicates that there would be offensive operations with marine and air force participation. Last year's exercise included mock offensive operations which involved large-scale sea and air landing operations.

This shows that the military exercise Cobra Gold 91 will amount to a huge display of military capabilities. Is the exercise legitimate in light of the increasing efforts aimed at forging stability in the region and at solving the Cambodian problem? The Thai Government, which came to power after the 23 February coup, has stressed its intention to continue the policy of good neighborly relations with the Indochinese countries. Will the huge military exercise involving U.S. forces benefit the climate for good neighborly relations in the region?

Near East & South Asia

IZVESTIYA Reports Bessmertnykh-Wakil Talks

PM0105132591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Ministers Meet"]

[Text] On 26 April USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh met with Afghan Foreign Minister 'A. Wakil, who stopped over in Moscow en route from Kabul to New York.

During a conversation they discussed questions relating to the position in Afghanistan in the light of the latest development of the situation in that country. Wakil reported on instances of Pakistan's direct support for the Afghan armed opposition during the events in the region of Khowst City. Both ministers noted that such interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs is intolerable and in violation of the Geneva accords.

The ministers again came out strongly in favor of a political solution to the Afghan problem. They expressed the hope for further efforts, including via the United Nations, to narrow the gap between the sides' positions in the interests of a speedy political settlement, an end to the war, and the establishment of peace in Afghanistan. Here it was stressed that it is the prerogative of the Afghans themselves to make the appropriate specific decisions.

Bessmertnykh and Wakil reaffirmed the desire of the USSR and Afghanistan to continue to pursue the policy of developing bilateral cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage and mutual interest.

Moscow Kurd Society Requests Aid for Refugees

91UF0681A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 17, Apr 91 p 2

[Article by L. Adzhoyev, chairman of the board of the Moscow Kurd Society: "The Persecuted"]

[Text] **Quite a few people can be found on earth who claim the bitter fame of the long-suffering. The Armenians, Jews, Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians have survived genocide in this century. But there is a people who have survived it repeatedly, being persecuted at various times by the governments of different states. The "succeeding" stage of this annihilation is occurring in Iraq in our day. We are talking about the Kurds.**

Those who visited Iraqi Kurdistan in the seventies and eighties most likely took notice of the excellent roads. A highway leads to every very poor hamlet that is difficult to get to in the mountains. But it is not concern for the well-being of Kurdish fellow citizens, who number about one-fifth of Iraq's population, that compelled the Baghdad government to open its purse for expensive construction. These excellent roads are very convenient for the deployment of troops to suppress the numerous Kurd uprisings. But an attentive eye looking around could spot military posts with machine guns, cannons, and soldiers in the mountains that tower over the valleys with Kurdish villages.

The historical fate of the Kurds developed in such a way that, after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of new states in this region, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria divided Kurdistan among themselves.

Despite the absence of a Kurdish state and attempts at forced assimilation, the Kurds were able to preserve their language and their customs, and they developed a national culture.

Wars For Independence

During the 20th century, the national liberation movements for autonomy and statehood that seized all of Kurdistan did not subside.

In Iran, where 4.5 million Kurds live now, a democratic Kurdish republic was created in 1945, with its center in Mehrabad and headed by Qazi Mohammad. The Iranian shah used his entire army to defeat the new republic. The president of the Kurdish republic, seeing the inequality of forces and wishing to spare his people, surrendered. He and his brothers were executed, but Mustafa Barzani, the supreme commander who headed the armed opposition, did not surrender.

National uprisings for autonomy were brutally suppressed in Turkey as well. President Turgut Ozal issued a decree that was directed against the Kurds, who were called "separatists and terrorists." The question is about the Kurdistan Workers' Party, which in 1984 began its struggle to create an independent Kurdish state in the southeast of Turkey, where 8 million Kurds now live. In Turkish Kurdistan, since 1986, it has been virtually prohibited to teach the Kurdish language to children in school, and also to publish books and newspapers.

In 1958, the Government of Iraq, headed by Qasim, which came to power with the support of the Kurds after a revolution, promised to give them autonomy, but instead it bombed peaceful Kurdish villages. The Kurds were forced to resort to arms.

In February 1963, after a state coup in Iraq, the Ba'thist Party also deceived the Kurds, who had helped it, by promising to resolve the question of autonomy. In answer to their demands about respect for democratic rights and about autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic, tanks were hurled against Kurdish villages. In 1974, trying to stop the long war, the Iraqi Government "presented" the Kurds autonomy "almost according to Lenin." With the exception that the Kurds were deprived of the rich oil lands around the historical capital of Kurdistan, the city of Karkuk, and, in place of it, the city of Irbil was designated the capital of the autonomy. Realizing that they had been deceived, the Kurdish people once again started an uprising. In March 1988 Iraqi President Saddam Husayn employed chemical weapons of mass destruction in Iraqi Kurdistan—in Halabjah where 5,000 people who were not guilty of anything perished.

Genocide

The Democratic Party of Kurdistan, the leading Kurdish political force, saw a new chance to gain independence after the defeat of Saddam Husayn's regime in the Persian Gulf war.

And once again, Kurdistan was enveloped in an uprising in a few days.

However, the rebels did not take into account the cunning and perfidy of S. Husayn's regime. Saving his elite Republican Guard from a rout in Kuwait, he deployed it at first to suppress the uprising of the Shiites in the south of the country, and afterwards, the uprising of the Kurds. This is when the modern roads came in handy. Millions of Kurds, saving themselves from genocide, were forced to flee to Turkey and Iran.

The Moscow Kurd Society appeals to all citizens and organizations to provide material assistance to the Kurdish refugees.

Friendship Treaty, Ties With Iraq Questioned

91UF0680A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[Article by G. Mirskiy, doctor of historical sciences: "Will the Genocide in Iraq Be Stopped?"]

[Text] The tragedy of the Iraqi Kurds... They are now talked and written about throughout the world. Television screens show endless lines of men, women, and

children plodding their way from their land along mountain passes toward uncertainty. Emaciated faces, despair and hopelessness in the eyes... Guests unwelcome in either Turkey or Iran, toward which they drag themselves through the mountains, thousands dying from hunger and cold. The number of refugees is growing: a million, a million and a half, almost two million. Behind is scorched earth, destroyed cities, and villages reduced to ashes. Information systems around the whole world, which previously was not interested in the Kurds, began to report on them as a people suddenly subjected to monstrous repression...

This is not true... The Iraqi Kurds were murdered by the thousands and tens of thousands previously, and herded out of their native land. True, there has not been such a massive flight before, but the annihilation of the Kurdish people has been going on for dozens of years. There are few people on earth whose lot has involved so much suffering. Overall, the fate of the Kurds is a great injustice of history. These people—honest, brave, industrious, and hospitable—have no homeland, have fallen into a tragic maelstrom of history, and have ended up disunited. It is not even known exactly how many of them there are in the world. It was previously estimated that 5 million Kurds live in Turkey, a little less in Iran, about 4 million in Iraq, and more than 150,000 in the USSR, Syria, and other countries. It is now thought that there are substantially more Kurds—from 4 to 5 million in Iraq alone, and now the total figure is cited at 20 or even 25 million.

The Kurds never had their own united state—Kurdistan is a geographic concept. The Kurds settled there where they lived more than 2,000 years ago, and they were mentioned by the ancient Greek historian Xenophon. The Kurds are not Arabs or Turks, and they have little in common with their neighbors, except religion: They are Muslims, the majority being Sunni. The Kurds are Aryans, as it was customary to say previously; now scientists prefer to use the term "of the Indo-Mediterranean race." The Kurdish language belongs to the Iranian group.

The cherished dream of the Kurds, in any case of a majority of them, is the creation of a united state—that which is usually called the "idea of a Great Kurdistan." Now, however, this looks unrealistic: Neither Turkey nor Iran will allow whole areas to be removed from their own state territories. As for the Iraqi Kurds, the official slogans of the majority of Kurdish national organizations, despite a latent and well-known aspiration for independence, have restricted themselves, as a rule, to demanding autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi state, but real autonomy, not that abbreviated and deceptive one offered them by successive Baghdad rulers who were generous in words.

Iraqi Kurdistan, like all of present-day Iraq (formerly Mesopotamia), was under Turkish rule and was part of the Ottoman empire until the First World War, and afterward became part of the Iraqi kingdom. The Kurds are a peasant and mainly agricultural people. Not one of the numerous conquerors who crossed Kurdistan on his way missed the opportunity to devastate and plunder the Kurds. But each time they rose from the ashes of Kurdish villages.

Here are some of the landmarks in their struggle.

1931-1932: Vigorous revolt headed by Akhmed Barzani against Baghdad. The aviation of the English—the actual masters of the country—was mercilessly hurled against the rebels.

1943: Akhmed's brother, shaykh Mullah Mustafa Barzani, again arouses the Kurds to a struggle. He became a hero of his people, and his life was one of revolt, defeat, prison, exile, and long emigration in the USSR. He died a long time ago, but his son is now a Kurdish leader.

1961: There is already a republic in Iraq, and dictator Kassem conducts a punitive expedition against the Kurds. Once again blood is spilled and villages burn.

1963: Now the most frightening part starts. The Ba'th Party, which has come to power and now rules in Iraq, unleashes a war to annihilate the Kurds. After many months of partisan operations, Barzani and his detachments force the Iraqi Army to stop the battle.

1970: The Ba'thists, now headed by Saddam Husayn, execute a treacherous maneuver: They conclude an agreement with the Kurds, "present" them with autonomy, include the Kurds in the government, and establish a period of final settlement—the year 1974—but, in fact, they continue the former policy of oppression and discrimination against the Kurds.

1988: Out of 4,000 Kurdish villages, 1,000 remain. One-third of Iraqi Kurdistan is left without a population. Taking advantage of the end of the war with Iran, Saddam Husayn hurls a 70,000-man army against the Kurds. Fifteen thousand Kurds are killed, and 200,000 flee to Turkey and Iran. The army employs toxic agents, and the populations of whole villages perish from gas. A number of cities are destroyed. By August 1989, 300,000 Kurds are resettled from the border areas to the interior of the country.

March 1991: Making use of Iraq's defeat in the war with the coalition, Kurdish patriots once again take up arms. In a few days they liberate a substantial part of the territory of Kurdistan, including the city of Karkuk, Irbil, and As Sulaymaniyah. The rebels are exultant, and their land is free. But only for several days in all: Saddam's military machine is not completely destroyed, and it mercilessly makes short work of the rebelling Shi'ites to the south and the Kurds to the north. Kurdish cities are fired on with unprecedented force: helicopters, rockets, and artillery are put into motion, then come the tanks. The forces are unequal, and the Kurds retreat. A massive flight of the peaceful population begins, saving itself from inevitable reprisal.

Television throughout the world showed how the Iraqi soldiers in Kuwait became prisoners of war by the tens of thousands as soon as they saw American tanks, without firing a single shot. But Saddam's army was victorious in the war with the peaceful Kurdish population and the poorly armed rebel detachments. The Baghdad despot got back at the Kurds and Shi'ites. Those who protested against the military operations started by the multinational coalition should know that even at the end of these operations many more of the peaceful Iraqi people perished from the shelling of Saddam's chastisers than from the allied bombs.

Now the Kurds are indignant: They believed Bush when he called on Iraqis to rise up against Saddam, and were severely disappointed. True, the U.S. President sent military subunits to Iraq for the defense of Kurdish refugee camps, but he did not undertake to help the rebels. From the standpoint of international law this is correct—there must be no interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. But, at the same time, one would like to ask: What would have happened to Cambodia if Vietnamese troops had not interfered and overthrown the Pol Pot regime? What would have happened to the inhabitants of Uganda if Tanzania had not helped to remove the bloody fool Idi Amin?

Indeed, a lot of questions can be posed, and one of them is: Why is it now necessary for the Soviet Union, given the current internal and international situation of our country, to maintain a treaty of friendship and cooperation with a regime of aggression and genocide?

Sub-Saharan Africa

Petrovskiy Takes Seven-Nation Tour of Africa

Visits Senegal 10 Apr

LD1004103491 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 10 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yemelyanov]

[Text] Dakar April 10 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy arrived in Dakar today.

At the airport, he was welcomed by Koumba Ndoffen Diouf, minister-delegate for liaison with the parliament, and other officials.

Senegal is the first country in Petrovskiy's African tour, which will also include Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, Zaire, Zimbabwe and Tanzania, countries playing an active part in the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-aligned Movement.

In its African policy, the Soviet Union relies on new political thinking which recognises the aspirations of African countries to promote independence, overcome economic backwardness and tackle social problems, Petrovskiy told TASS.

"We fully share these aims of African nations and want their voice to have a certain weigh' in our interdependent world," he said.

Since the world is acquiring new traits after the cold war, a dialogue with African countries is exceptionally important, he said.

Issues of universal, regional and national security should be solved, taking into account both relations between the East and West and North and South, he said.

Petrovskiy said he plans to discuss international order in the new period in human history following the end of the cold war, when the role of the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement is increasing.

The sides will also address Soviet-Senegalese relations.

Departs 12 Apr

LD1204171191 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 12 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Emelyanov]

[Text] Dakar April 12 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy wound up his working visit to the Republic of Senegal today. He was received by President Abdou Diouf and held talks with Foreign Minister Djibo Ka.

A communique adopted upon the results of the visit says that the sides share identical viewpoints on the international situation. It is characterised by the transition from the cold war to peace based on the cooperation of all states and the establishment of a new international order, in which the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organisation of African Unity have an important role to play.

They emphasised the importance of creating an effective mechanism for preventing international political, economic and ecological crises.

The sides examined prospects for the development of the situation in the Gulf and in the Middle East. They hailed the liberation of Kuwait and the restoration of international law in the Gulf.

The sides emphasised an urgent need to conduct the quest for lasting peace in the Middle East, specifically for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict and solving the Palestinian issue.

They favoured convening an international peace conference on the Middle East to involve all parties concerned on an equitable footing, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

On the situation in southern Africa and the evolution towards building a non-racial, democratic society there,

the Soviet and Senegalese sides expressed support for the African National Congress and all democratic forces of that country.

Petrovskiy stressed during talks that the Soviet Union always regarded African countries as equal partners both in bilateral ties and in terms of cooperation in the international arena, the communique points out.

The sides considered the state of traditionally friendly relations between the USSR and Senegal. They stated that the political dialogue between the two countries was deepening, the sphere of common interests expanding and both countries were eager to increase and diversify cooperation.

Petrovsky left Dakar for Abidjan, the economic capital of Cote d'Ivoire, today.

Visits Ivory Coast 13 Apr

LD1504185191 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Excerpt] Dakar April 15 TASS—The problems of building a new post-confrontation world were discussed on Saturday during a meeting between President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Republic of Cote D' Ivoire and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy who was in Abidjan on a working visit.

The Soviet representative pointed out the importance of the "African factor" in the consolidation of positive changes in international life and the establishment of a fair democratic world order.

Petrovsky held talks with the republic's foreign minister Amara Essy. The role of the United Nations and other international organisations in the solution of universal human problems and further development and diversification of relations between the Soviet Union and Cote D'Ivoire were discussed.

Cote D'Ivoire was the second leg of the Soviet deputy foreign minister's African tour after Senegal. The itinerary also includes Ghana, Nigeria, Zaire, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania. [passage omitted]

Visits Ghana 14 Apr

LD1504023391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 14 Apr 91

[Text] Accra, 15 Apr (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy arrived on Ghana on a working visit on Sunday. He was met in the country's capital by Mohammad Ibn Chambas, deputy secretary for foreign affairs of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) of the country, and other officials.

During his two-day stay, V.F. Petrovskiy will hold intensive talks with members of the leadership of the republic, including PNDC Chairman Jerry Rawlings. Discussion is planned of the place and role of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Organization of African Unity in the construction of the new international order, the development of events on the African continent, and the state of bilateral relations.

Ghana and the Soviet Union enjoy traditionally good relations, distinguished by a high level of mutual understanding, V.F. Petrovskiy said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. Ghana, he noted, plays an important role in world affairs, primarily in the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement, whose conference of foreign ministers takes place in Accra in September of this year.

Departs 16 Apr

LD1704083191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2040 GMT 16 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksey Demchenko]

[Excerpts] Accra, 17 Apr (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V. Petrovskiy, who has been on a two-day working visit to Ghana, left for Nigeria yesterday. During his stay in Ghana, he had talks with Jerry Rawlings, chairman of the country's ruling Provisional National Defense Council, to whom he conveyed a verbal message from USSR President M.S. Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

The talks in Accra took place in an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding, Petrovskiy told a TASS correspondent. They showed that the points of view and interests of the USSR and Ghana are the same in concept. The two countries by tradition enjoy stable partnership relations. Mutual aspiration was expressed to continue supporting firm bilateral ties. [passage omitted]

Visits Nigeria 17-19 Apr

LD2004130891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1720 GMT 19 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Shartse]

[Text] Lagos, 19 Apr (TASS)—During the period 17-19 April, in accordance with a Soviet-Nigerian protocol, Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, had political consultations in Nigeria with the leadership of Nigeria's Foreign Ministry led by Ignatius Olisemeka, the acting foreign minister.

"Both sides expressed an understanding of the need to coordinate and pool the efforts of the Soviet Union and Nigeria for the purpose of enhancing the efficiency of and practical return from existing global and regional structures for international cooperation," V. Petrovskiy told Soviet journalists in an interview. The consultations touched on a wide range of issues connected with the fact that international relations are entering a new post-confrontational period. There was discussion of the place and role of the African factor in the construction of a new system of peace, security, and cooperation, relying on the UN Charter.

Naturally, the deputy minister went on to say, particular attention was paid to questions concerning the place and role of the OAU in this new international order. "It is well known that Nigeria is becoming chairman of this organization and, moreover, at a crucial period when here on the African continent there is a development of integrational processes both in the economic and in the political spheres".

The Soviet side expressed complete understanding and support for the efforts of Nigeria and other African countries in the creation of a system of security, stability, development, and cooperation on the continent. The importance was emphasized of the work of the regional organizations being organized in close interaction with the activities of the United Nations.

An accord was reached to hold a new round of Soviet-Nigerian political consultations on the eve of the next session of the UN General Assembly.

In the course of the consultations, V. Petrovskiy said, there had been a meeting with Olusegun Obasanjo, the prominent Nigerian public figure and former head of state. At this meeting there also had been a discussion of the prospects for developing new international relations and putting the ideas of justice, nonviolence, and democracy into practice. In the city of Abuja, V. Petrovskiy had a meeting with Major General Gado Nasko, minister for the Federal Capital Territory.

Visits Zaire 20 Apr

LD2104084591 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 21 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Shartse]

[Text] Lagos April 21 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy visited the republic of Zaire during his tour of the African continent.

There were talks with Zairean Foreign Minister Inonga Lokongo L'ome and political consultations with Monesu Ujuu, secretary of state for foreign affairs, Petrovskiy told TASS.

During the talks, the Soviet side gave a positive appraisal of Zaire's participation in the activities of the U.N. Security Council as its non-permanent member and Zaire's mediatory efforts to settle a number of conflicts on the African continent, Petrovskiy said.

A common view was expressed during the talks that, in view of changes taking place in the world, the strengthening of the established patterns of international cooperation acquires special importance, both on a global and regional scale and, in particular, on an all-African scale, Petrovskiy added.

Visits Zimbabwe 22 Apr

LD2204200491 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 22 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Pichugin]

[Text] Harare April 22 TASS— Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira received on Monday Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovskiy, who arrived here on a brief working visit.

The two men discussed a wide range of issues related to the place and role of the United Nations, the Non-aligned Movement, the Organisation of African Unity and other regional structures in the process of transition from "cold war" to international cooperation on the basis of U.N. Charter.

The exchange showed a coincidence of views on questions of global and international security. The sides spoke in favour of continuing a course of demilitarisation, democratisation and humanisation of international relations, the equal participation and possibilities of all countries, large and small, in this process.

They also stressed that bilateral relations developed fruitfully.

Petrovskiy has already visited six African countries and is leaving for Tanzania tomorrow.

Visits Tanzania 23-25 Apr

LD2304195291 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 23 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Novikov]

[Text] Dar Es Salaam April 23 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky arrived in Tanzania today on the last leg of his working trip to seven African countries.

In Tanzania, he will meet the country's president and foreign minister to discuss the creation of a new system of relations between countries, international cooperation and the role of the U.N. and regional organisations in this process.

Meets President

LD2604105591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1832 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Novikov]

[Text] Dar-es-Salaam, 25 Apr (TASS)—Ali Hassan Mwinyi, president of the United Republic of Tanzania, today received V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is on a visit here. A wide range of questions in the field both of international relations and bilateral ties were discussed during the meeting.

Specifically, the sides considered the complex of problems associated with the entry of international relations

into a new, post-confrontation period, and with the role in this process of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, and the Nonaligned Movement.

Ali Hassan Mwinyi and V.F. Petrovskiy expressed mutual satisfaction with the coincidence of both countries' positions on the main international problems, and declared themselves to be in favor of the expansion and development of bilateral relations, including in the economic field.

Petrovskiy Comments at Tour's End

LD0105180791 Moscow World Service in English 1630 GMT 1 May 91

[From the "Africa As We See It" program]

[Excerpts] In this edition we bring you highlights of an interview by the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, who is now back from a tour of African countries including Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, Zaire, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania. Vladimir Petrovskiy has addressed a news conference in Moscow. [passage omitted]

Vladimir Petrovskiy said the reason why he chose those seven African countries is that all of them are actively involved in multilateral processes, both on international and regional levels. Secondly, they're non-permanent members of the Security Council and play a leading role in the Organization of African Unity and the Nonaligned Movement.

Are you satisfied with the results of your negotiations, and what are your impressions about them? Vladimir Petrovskiy:

The deputy foreign minister said it was revealed that the Soviet Union and African states were keen to strengthen the positive global trends of recent times and to start to work together to build a new world which must be democratic, just, and nonviolent.

He said some of the countries he had visited were keen to play a leading role in multilateral processes of today and that it was in the Soviet Union's interest to make use of the African factor. In this interdependent world, he said, no country must feel secure if a conflict is brewing up somewhere.

Vladimir Petrovskiy said Africa had a role to play in resolving global issues, such as combatting diseases, including malaria and the AIDS disease, as well as in environmental protection.

A successful economic growth, he said, is also impossible without Africa because no organism can function normally if one of its parts is ailing. The global interdependence prompts the need for cooperation and concerted effort which is hardly possible if 51 African nations are excluded from the process.

Vladimir Petrovskiy believes the African factor must also help towards international unity and building a new world in which each country can enrich itself with the experience gained by others.

Commentary Views Tour

LD2304164691 Moscow World Service in English 1930 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Vladimir Shilov commentary]

[Text] The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy is currently on a tour of African countries, including Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, Zaire, Zimbabwe and Tanzania. The following commentary was contributed by Vladimir Shilov of our staff:

The agenda of the talks the minister has held so far, has focused on global issues pertaining to the transition from the Cold War period to that of peace rooted in international cooperation and the establishment of a new world order. Africa, which used to be the arena of confrontation between the two social systems and the site where political interests of a global scale clashed, has experienced the full effect of the implications of the Cold War period. But this also provided a convenient position, particularly in matters of economic aid or political support, which could be obtained or given depending on whether or not the promised aid continued to flow. Changing sides helped some countries to milk two cows, as they put it in Africa. But it will be hard to reckon the enormous costs that the superpowers had to incur because of the struggle for areas of influence and lures of handouts in exchange for support, into their own selfish interests of corrupt or fallen unpopular regimes in Africa. [sentence as heard]

Many of the conflicts would have died down and thousands of lives saved but for the sustained support from abroad. However, the new political mentality brought a change in international relations, leading to the disposal of confrontational attitudes in favor of dialogue in sorting out controversial issues, and to human values taken as a priority.

All this made it possible to find ways of clearing even deadlocked situations. This also helped toward the Namibian independence and the building of a new nonracial society in South Africa, toward the self-determination of Western Sahara and the emerging signs of an end to civil wars in Angola and Mozambique.

With the world now entering a postconfrontational period, Africa has a big role to play. Not surprisingly, Patrovskiy and African leaders focused a great deal on the African factor, which can help cement positive changes around the world and create a new democratic world order.

Other issues under discussion involved Africa's participation in the United Nations activity, the Nonaligned Movement and the Organization of African Unity. It was

also stressed that the USSR was cherishing its relations of friendship and understanding with African states, which helps them cooperate both on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Vladimir Petrovskiy pointed out that his country's African policy was based on the principles of a new political mentality, which takes into account the legitimate desire by African states to strengthen their independence, to overcome economic backwardness and to resolve their social issues. It was also emphasized that the USSR had always viewed African countries as its equal partners in promoting bilateral contacts and conducting affairs worldwide.

For their part the African leaders spoke of immense public interest in Soviet perestroyka and a wish to see the USSR as a renewed but unitary state. Wishes of success were also expressed for Soviet political and economic reforms.

Petrovskiy's talks in Ghana focused on a nonaligned foreign ministers conference due in Accra this September. It was stressed that the movement has a constructive role to play as the world is switching over from the Cold War period to broad international cooperation.

The dialogue with African states was all the more important because the issues of regional and national security and the prevention of ecological and economic disasters must be resolved as part of both East-West and North-South relations. On the whole it can be expected that Vladimir Petrovskiy's current tour of Africa will help clarify the directions of concerted action in the international arena and create conditions for Soviet-African interests in promoting global peace and stability under newly emerging conditions.

East Europe

Gorbachev Congratulation to Albania's Alia

PM0105222391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 May 91 Second Edition p 4

[Message from President Gorbachev to President Alia of Albania on his election as president]

[Text] To Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania

I sincerely congratulate you on your election to the post of president of the Republic of Albania.

I wish you success in your work for the good of the Albanian people and in the interests of the country's ongoing development along the path of democracy and progress.

I express the confidence that relations between the Soviet Union and Albania will develop and deepen for the good of our peoples and peace and cooperation in Europe.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev

The Kremlin, Moscow, 1 May 1991

TASS Cites Germany's Bahr on Security Issues

LD2704124791 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 27 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—There is now a kind of a lull in political contacts following the signing of the Paris agreements by member-states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Both Germans, Americans and Russians are unilaterally reducing their armed forces and "more is now happening in this sphere, than has been agreed in Paris", Social Democratic Party of Germany Disarmament expert Egon Bahr told TASS today.

Bahr is taking part in a meeting of the Bergedorf Discussion Club in Moscow.

After the Gulf war, both NATO and the USSR are devising a new defence strategy and concept, according to Bahr.

And since both sides are doing this separately, there is a danger that the resulting strategies will be aimed against each other.

NATO and the Soviet Union and all East European states should contact each other and openly state their fears and what they want to avoid, Bahr said.

It is necessary to concentrate on developing the Paris agreements and begin constructing a European home in the sphere of security, envisioned by Mikhail Gorbachev, he said.

CSFR's Dienstbier Quoted on Bilateral Issues

LD0105210991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1334 GMT 1 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Shamshin]

[Text] Prague, 1 May (TASS)—"We have an interest in the best of relations with the Soviet Union. We regard the strengthening of mutually beneficial contacts with our eastern neighbor as one of the most important foreign policy tasks," Jiri Dienstbier, deputy premier of the federal government and CSFR foreign minister, declared today in an interview with a TASS correspondent. He stressed that the treaty on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory is a major breakthrough in bilateral ties. The minister noted the irreproachable fulfillment by the Soviet side of the clauses of the treaty. According to him, the chief obstacle in the way of the onward development of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations had vanished.

At the same time, considerable problems exist in economic ties. In most cases, the goods produced by our

countries' enterprises do not match up to world standards. Many controversial issues have arisen owing to the switch to freely convertible currency in mutual accounting. There has been a dangerous tendency to reduce trade.

Specialists need to find effective approaches that will make it possible to renew cooperation in the economic field. It is, however, necessary to take account of the possibilities of each side. For example, difficulties are now being created for us by the fact that our Soviet partners want to receive goods from us on credit. We cannot manage that in the present difficult economic situation in Czechoslovakia. Money is needed to remunerate the labor of our own workers, the leader of the Czechoslovak foreign policy department pointed out.

Turning to the talks on the conclusion of an inter-state Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty, J. Dienstbier noted that the document is intended to put bilateral relations on an equitable footing. The treaty must become an indication that the negative consequences of the past have been completely overcome. The rich historical experience of the friendly contacts between both countries must be borne in mind, he said.

Most of the treaty's clauses have been agreed. Only one point remains controversial. In the view of our Soviet partners, it should record the commitment that the sides will not join alliances aimed against either party. It goes without saying that we will not carry out any policy that is hostile to the Soviet Union. On the contrary, we view the treaty as a basis for the development of long-term good-neighborly cooperation and as an integral part of a new European security system, J.Dienstbier emphasized.

At the conclusion of the conversation, the minister said he favors the active inclusion of the Soviet Union in the European process. Without the participation of the USSR, he indicated, it is hard to imagine the building of the all-European home. The future of Europe largely depends on the success of reforms in the east of the continent. It is precisely for this reason that we wish victory to the democratic transformations in the Soviet Union.

West Europe

Pavlov Holds News Conference on Brussels Visit

PM0105115591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 May 91 Union Edition p 5

[Correspondent B. Moskvichev report: "'Moscow Club' in Brussels"]

[Text] Brussels—During his unofficial visit to Brussels Soviet Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov met with his Belgian colleague W. Martens and was received by J. Delors, chairman of the European Commission. Various issues of mutual interest—including issues relating to the European Commission and the resumption of "Common Market" aid to the Soviet Union—were discussed.

But the main aim of the trip was the opening of the "Moscow Club." This new international organization unites representatives from the most varied spheres of enterprise together with public figures and statesmen. Its main role is to promote the development of relations between the Western business world and the Soviet Union, which has stated its intention to set up a market economy system.

The Soviet premier's press conference attracted particular attention from the corps of journalists accredited in the European capital. Answering correspondents' questions, V.S. Pavlov stressed the importance of personal contacts with representatives of Western business circles. This makes it possible, he said, to obtain firsthand information without it being distorted as usual en route from one body to another.

The prime minister rejected the accusations against him about the position he had taken toward Western banking circles. As he put it, it could only be a question of a certain section of these circles, which, in his opinion are not always in step with the law even here in the West. On the eve of the privatization process, he noted, we cannot allow considerable sums to flow abroad. This would do immense damage to the economy and to cooperation.

Describing the current state of the Soviet economy, V.S. Pavlov noted that we should talk not about the crisis in it, but about a kind of production imbalance which has partially come about as a result of Soviet industry's previous ties to the West being broken.

Answering a question about the Soviet leadership's plans as regards conversion, the prime minister stressed that Western entrepreneurs could take part in its implementation too, but the conversion process should not be one-sided.

Latin America & Caribbean

Correspondent on Decline in Soviet-Cuban Trade

LD0105133691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 May 91

[Commentary by Viktor Gorbachev, station correspondent in Havana, on "the problems of Soviet-Cuban trade and economic cooperation"]

[Text] Mutually advantageous trade presupposes the abandoning of credit which, in practice, is never repaid. Under the agreements for the last five-year period, which ended last year, this credit reached 4.5 billion rubles. This was the value of the goods which we agreed to suply to Cuba free of charge, not including assistance in the construction of numerous economic projects. If this practice is abandoned, we will supply the Cubans only with things for which they can pay with their own goods.

The commodities that we receive from Cuba are mainly sugar, nickel, and citrus fruit. Although it is difficult to predict at the moment, Cuban exports to the Soviet Union can be expected to worth some $2.5 billion this year. If the terms of trade are identical for both sides, then our exports to Cuba should be worth the same. Therefore, overall trade between the two countries, uninflated by credit, will hardly exceed $5 billion.

But there is more at stake than credit. If trade with Cuba is to be considered advantageous without any if's and but's, the competition of the world market must be allowed to influence it. If this happens, we will not do deals with each other if we can find a more advantageous partner. It is easy to see that the first thing to be affected by competition will be prices. So far as Cuban exports are concerned, this will have repercussions for sugar first and foremost. At the moment we pay $550 a tonne, which is far higher than the world market price. I think that in the future it would be logical to expect the price paid by the Soviet Union for Cuban sugar to be closer to the world price. It should not be forgotten that many Soviet goods will also become cheaper and the Cubans stand to gain from this. After all, our goods will also be competing with goods from other countries. All told, even when you take account of the new medical goods that Cuba is offering us in large quantities, trade between us may be halved at least.

The restructuring of trade relations should, of course, have been carried out gradually. After all, the Cuban economy cannot operate normally without Soviet assistance. But the crisis in our country is disrupting plans and dictating its own terms. Already last year our exports had started to fall quickly. Life for Cubans became even harder. Cuba is now paying dearly for the fact that Soviet-Cuban cooperation was based for three decades not on economic laws but on ideological and political interests.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Debate on Moldova Reported

PM3004102191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[IZVESTIYA legislative correspondents A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev Kremlin report: "About Law That President Did Not Sign"]

[Text] Deputies decided to devote the entire first half of the 26 April sitting to lawmaking work, leaving the evening sitting for the discussion of the USSR president's report on the results of his trip to Japan. The sitting began with a minute's silence whereby the legislature honored the memory of the victims of the Chernobyl catastrophe.

The first question under discussion was largely connected with this sad anniversary. Deputies adopted the USSR Law on Administrative Responsibility for Violating Regulations, Norms, and Instructions on Safe Working at USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry and USSR Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and Industry Enterprises and Organizations.

Then came the turn of the USSR Law "On Amendments and Additions to USSR Legislative Acts on Labor." This was the first time in the legislature's history that a law it had adopted was not signed by the president but returned to the USSR Supreme Soviet for further discussion. The crux of the dispute is that the Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Labor Legislation, which was adopted on 11 March, contains an article that says, in particular, that the administration of an enterprise can dismiss a worker without the trade union's consent. At the same time a similar article of the USSR Law "On Trade Unions and Rights and Guarantees of Their Activity" deems trade union consent to dismissal to be mandatory. The USSR president pointed out this discrepancy to deputies.

The legislative committees and commissions did not reach a unanimous opinion on the president's reaction. The Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, for instance, believes that the version of the Fundamentals of Labor Legislation is quite correct and the corresponding article of the trade union legislation contravenes the Constitution. In the opinion of representatives of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor and Social Policy and the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Economic Relations Between the Republics and Autonomous Formations (who are backed, incidentally, by the General Confederation of Trade Unions), however, working people need an additional social buffer in conditions of the transition to the market.

The debate lasted until the first recess....

The Soviet of Nationalities devoted two days to seeking ways to settle conflicts that have kept the country on edge for a long time. After the examination of the situation in South Ossetia it was Moldova's turn. On 25 April they discussed the results of the trip to the republic by a group of USSR people's deputies.

Telling his colleagues about the results of the trip, Deputy G. Kiselev, the group leader, noted that the presidential decree on measures to normalize the situation in Moldova was perceived with understanding in the republic and played a definite role. Volunteer detachments and self-defense detachments were, in particular, disbanded and the republic legislature's resolution on creating a republican guard was repealed.

In the course of the trip there were meetings with republic leaders—M. Snegur, A. Moshanu, and M. Druk—and leaders of the so-called Dnestr and Gagauz republics. G. Kiselev stressed that Moldova's leadership believes it is doing everything it can to implement the USSR presidential decree, but the leaders of the Dnestr and Gagauz republics are totally disregarding it. In turn, the leaders of the Dnestr and Gagauz areas accuse Moldova's legislature and leadership of being reluctant to review their discriminatory policy and really implement the decree.

Needless to say, the positions do not promote the quest for ways to find a constructive solution to the problems. In the opinion of those involved in the trip, this situation is the result of reluctance on the part of Moldova's leadership and opposition to embark on talks and the quest for compromise solutions.

Deputies were told that Moldova's leadership sees possible ways of further developing the republic as being to acquire sovereignty and independence and return to the bosom of European civilization. At the same time it was emphasized that at present there is no question of unification with Romania; however, the possibility of the republic participating in the Union Treaty on special terms acceptable to Moldova was not ruled out. In many respects this possibility was linked, it was said, with the prospect of more democratic forces coming to power in the center and also with the Ukraine's position.

In turn representatives of the Dnestr and Gagauz areas said that they cannot not imagine their future outside the USSR.

The situation would seem to be a stalemate, but, in the opinion of group members, G. Kiselev said, the potential for seeking agreement has by no means been exhausted. Businesslike contacts with the republic must be continued at various levels for this to occur. To this end it was proposed that a permanent group of USSR people's deputies (it was decided to appoint Deputy S. Pilnikov as its leader) be sanctioned to maintain constant links with Moldova's legislators. It was deemed advisable to suggest that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers form and send to the republic a working group comprising representatives of USSR law-enforcement, financial, and economic services to examine specific problems at local level, along with the complaints lodged with the center.

The discussion of the issue was undoubtedly affected by the fact that, despite the union legislature's invitation, the leaders of the Republic of Moldova refused to take part in the sitting. As a result, the speeches—and they were virtually all devoted to analyzing the reasons for the conflict—mainly laid the blame for the prevailing situation on the republic's leadership. There were no contradictory opinions voiced. This gave Deputy Ye. Doge an excuse to reproach speakers for failing to find a single warm word for Moldova's people. As for the proposals on settling the problem, those proposed by the participants in the trip proved most constructive and concrete. They were also reflected in the resolution adopted by the Soviet of Nationalities as a result of the debate.

At the evening sitting members of the Soviet of Nationalities discussed the conflict that has arisen between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan over the use of a small plot of land on the border between the two republics. It was suggested that interrepublic commissions be set up on an equal footing to resolve the problem.

Soviet of Nationalities Issues Declaration

PM3004121191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

[Declaration signed by Soviet of Nationalities Chairman R. Nishanov in Moscow on 25 April: "USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Resolution: On the Settlement of Land Use Disputes Between Kyrgyzstan and the Tajik SSR"]

[Text] The Soviet of Nationalities notes that the absence of settlement of land use disputes in the border-zone Batkenskiy Rayon in Kyrgyzstan and Isfarinskiy Rayon in Tajikistan from time to time complicates the situation and causes tension in relations between the Kyrgyz and Tajik populations living in the villages of Aksay in Batkenskiy Rayon and Vorukh and Oktyabrskiy in Isfarinskiy Rayon and sometimes leads to direct clashes. A most acute conflict situation that required the introduction of a state of emergency developed here in July 1989. The state bodies of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan and the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], which carried out much work to ease tension and prepare preliminary proposals, were nevertheless unable to find mutually acceptable solutions. The sides are displaying intransigence, which is exacerbating an already dangerous situation. Certain questions of the long-term use of pasturelands between the two republics still remain open.

The Soviet of Nationalities resolves:

1. To take cognizance of the report by deputies' commission leader Comrade Ye. N. Auyelbekov about the measures that have been taken and the possible ways of resolving land use disputes in the border-zone rayons of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan and the Tajik SSR.

2. To appeal to the presidents, Supreme Soviets, and governments of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan and the Tajik SSR to return to constructive dialogue, urgently consider the disputed land use questions, and enact mutually acceptable solutions on the basis of Article 78 of the USSR Constitution, with the aim of removing the tension in relations between the Kyrgyz and Tajik populations in the border-zone rayons.

3. To instruct the bodies of state power and management of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to resolve questions of the long-term use of pasturelands on mutually advantageous conditions and to make provision for carrying out work preventing the degradation of the pastures being utilized.

4. To take cognizance of the fact that the Supreme Soviets and governments of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan and the Tajik SSR have formed a parity-based commission to work out proposals for resolving land use disputes.

[Signed] R. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities.
Moscow, The Kremlin, 25 April 1991.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Greets PRAVDA Festival

PM0105221791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 May 91 Second Edition p 1

[Message from USSR President Gorbachev to PRAVDA festival participants and organizers; date not given]

[Text] To the Participants in and Organizers of the PRAVDA festival

Esteemed Comrades!

I cordially greet you and, with you, all journalists, publishers, and friends of PRAVDA—the organ of the CPSU Central Committee.

The PRAVDA festival, which is being held for the second time at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements, is becoming a traditional venue for impassioned debates on the most acute problems facing society at a crucial stage in its radical renewal.

It is only by deepening the processes of democratization and only on a basis of open dialogue with people of different views and convictions that our party can elaborate and pursue a policy which enjoys the people's confidence and support.

It is now more important than ever before to use all the prestige of the CPSU's periodicals and all the potential which it possesses in this sphere to defend working people's interests and achieve civil peace and national accord, a decent living standard, and the improvement of the whole social atmosphere in the country.

I wish the participants in and organizers of the PRAVDA festival a fruitful exchange of opinions and success.

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

Politburo's Gurenko on Anticrisis Program

91UN1403A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 91 p 1

[Article by Stanislav Gurenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee: "This Is a Sensible, Detailed Attempt To Find a Way Out of an Impasse"]

[Text] **Stanislav Gurenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, comments on a program document of ways to overcome the crisis and the outlook for the country's development, which was published in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA on 28 March.**

We fully share the alarm of the authors of the program document over the future of the country and the people. Indeed, all of our current troubles are the result of a systemic crisis which has afflicted all aspects of life and which has essentially deprived society of goals for its development.

The country can halt and overcome the destructive processes, if distinct and understandable ideas and a clear program of actions are presented to the people. Only on this basis can society be consolidated and roused to well-coordinated and constructive work. It is no less important to free the people of false stereotypes of their own inferiority that were developed by prolonged self-reproach, and to help them to believe in themselves. We must no longer delay the adoption of such a program.

It is also very important that the way out of the crisis be guaranteed primarily on the basis of our own resources, taking into account the country's historical and economic experience, based on the existing scientific-technical and intellectual potential. That part of the experience of the West and other developed countries which really and effectively can be assimilated under our circumstances should be adopted. This is the most important condition for the preservation of the political, economic, and cultural independence of our state, and the all-round development of all of its people and nations. This responds to the will of a majority of the population, which was expressed in the all-Union referendum.

In such a critical moment, life itself demands the strengthening of the state's control over the functioning of the national economic complex. After all, the current economic crisis is, in fact, a crisis of administration and not of production itself. A systemic and integral reform of administration is needed that is executed according to a single plan. We must not yield to the illusions and utopian hopes offered us that a private and unregulated market economy will take the rigid state sector in tow and lead it to a harbor of "universal prosperity."

The impending denationalization and privatization of property require special consideration. The warnings expressed in the program document that we should not accept privatization of all state property in the form of the sale of property into the hands of private persons are fully justified. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee also comes out in principle for the fact that privatization really should be popular; that is, conducted for the people and in their interests.

Our position also corresponds to the viewpoint of the authors of the program that civil war and unemployment, as legitimate social phenomena, would be an absolutely unacceptable price for the people, even for the most progressive reorganizations. Declaring that the Ukrainian Communist Party is the party of social protection of the workers, the republic's Communists firmly hold to the opinion that the state should assume the main burden of costs associated with the transition to market relations.

This also determines our view on the current price reform, which has brought social tension to a critical point. The authors of the study are correct: This reform is just an attempt to adjust the gap between retail and wholesale prices. It will not eliminate the causes of the instability in the consumer market and the probability of a future increase in prices, if it is not accompanied by an increase in the production of goods. And what is more, delay here may mean death. We are also orienting the republic's party committees on the fact that the liberalization of the price policy should not open new floodgates for the enrichment of operators in the shadow economy at the expense of the main mass of consumers.

Also of interest are a number of other provisions of the program in which one distinctly senses the seriousness of intentions, responsibility, and competence. At the same time, part of the questions still require, in our view, a deeper comprehension, additional work, and refinement. In particular, this concerns the creation of a "supra-party bloc of initiative centrist forces as a political pivot of the program." Very fundamental refinements are needed here, and a concretization that is based on the realities of today's political life. Good intentions and declarations that are not correlated with these realities have already cost us quite a few bruises and lumps.

There is also no complete clarity with regard to the mechanism for restoring and strengthening the integral system of bank control, financial regulation, and the reinforcement of the state taxation inspection, and giving it all-Union status. It is impossible not to see that this runs into definite contradiction with the present stormy processes in the acquisition of sovereignties. The same can also be said about the restoration of the practice of all-Union registration of state enterprises. There should be a fuller and clearer exposition of the

essence and ways of implementing the proposed proposition—"social costs, sacrifices, and expenditures that are equal for all and everyone during the entire period of the reorganization."

But on the whole, in our opinion, the study that is presented is a sensible and detailed attempt to find a way out of an impasse. It can become the basis for a further collective search.

Pavlov: Anticrisis Plan Needs Public Support

LD0105132391 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov has told a press reporter the government's anticrisis program will be feasible only if it meets wide public support. The government is ready to negotiate, he said, and is open to cooperation and compromise.

The prime minister pointed out the priority lay with highly productive labor effort and individual realization of civic responsibilities. The government, he also said, had no intention of bowing to the public. It was determined to enforce this program.

Student Penetrates Kremlin 'Without Interference'

LD0105223491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 1 May 91

[Excerpt] This story gives one plenty of food for thought. It took place in Moscow on 1 May, right in its very center. It was night. A student who could not sleep wanted to take a walk around the Kremlin. He decided to climb over the legendary Kremlin wall on the side facing the Moskva River. That turned out to be an easy matter. According to the logic of the special technical services, the nocturnal tourist should have been noticed by a special video camera. That did not happen, however, and the student penetrated the territory of the Kremlin without interference, took a look at the bell of Ivan the Great, the sleeping Kremlin Palace of Congresses, the Tsar Cannon and the Tsar Bell, and similar objects.

After walking around as much as he wanted, student K. started to leave the Kremlin by the Nikolskaya gate tower and it was only here that one of the guards finally noticed him and, displaying regulation vigilance, escorted him to the appropriate place. It was only there that student K. learned how many different sophisticated instruments and alarms he had so easily crucially outwitted. [passage omitted]

IZVESTIYA Reviews May Day Demonstrations

PM0205101191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 May 91 Union Edition p 1

[Roundup of reports by G. Alimov, V. Ardayev, S. Bablumyan, A. Karpov, E. Konrdatov, V. Kostyukovskiy, S. Krayukhin, V. Kuleshov, N. Lashkevich, L. Levitskiy, I. Litvinova, N. Matukovskiy, E. Matskevich, S.Mostovshchikov, A. Orlov, V. Remizov, and S. Tsikora under the general heading "May Day: Back to the Source"]

[Excerpts] You would think noisy May Day celebrations marked by fanfares and pomp are now a thing of the past. The holiday of working people's solidarity, judging by our correspondents' reports, is assuming its original businesslike and specific meaning. May Day is marked in different ways in the country and different slogans are heard at rallies and demonstrations. But the main thing to be noted is that tens of thousands of people in Moscow, Leningrad, the capitals of the republics, and in other cities and villages gathered for rallies and May Day meetings not just to honor traditions, but also to express an understandable desire to protect and defend their right to labor and a decent life. And to express their will: an end to confrontation, feuding, and hostility. The country must be extricated from the very deep crisis and strife by joint efforts.

The May Day rally on Moscow's Red Square organized by the Moscow Trade Union Federation and the Association of Free Trade Unions was due to begin at 1000 hours. Columns of citizens invited to attend the event were moving toward the country's main square. At the appointed time the entire square was packed with people. Access to the square was closed at 0955 hours and you could get through to the rally venue only on presentation of a special pass.

Many people came to Red Square bearing slogans. Here are some of them: "We oppose division and separatism!"; "Democracy yes, extremism no!"; "Man does not live by strikes alone!"; "Down with the home-grown millionaires!"; "Viva Lenin, Viva Fidel!" An ultraradical group was spotted carrying the following hysterical slogans: "Down with the anti-people program of Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Pavlov and Company" and "The planned economy, not privatization, took us into war!"... Portraits of Vladimir Lenin and Mikhail Gorbachev were raised above the heads. There were followers of I. Stalin among the ranks of the participants in the rally. They also held their idol's portrait aloft. [passage omitted]

B. Yeltsin, who is presently in the Kuzbass, addressed a May Day rally in Novokuznetsk.

"I am profoundly happy to be here on Kuzbass soil on this holiday," he said, "among people who gave all Russia a mighty fillip in the search for paths to the new life." B. Yeltsin reiterated his disagreement with those who consider the miners' movement "destructive." People have been reduced to despair by their lack of rights and have been forced to resort to extreme measures to protect themselves against ministerial and departmental tyranny.

On the eve of the rally a most important document was finally agreed with representatives of the Kuzbass strike committees council—namely, the draft resolution of the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman on the transfer of coal

industry enterprises to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. B. Yeltsin signed this document right there at the rally. The Russian legislature head called it a document of Russia's solidarity with the miners' movement.

Unlike previous May Day holidays in Leningrad, this time citizens did not encounter the usual barriers and militia cordons on Nevskiy Prospekt and other thoroughfares in the center. There were no red flags flying along the Neva embankment. And on the morning of May Day the city as a whole seemed quiet and deserted without the usual holiday hurly-burly and hubbub.

It was not until nearly 1100 that lines of demonstrators moved toward Palace Square from several rayons in the city—Vyborgskiy, Kirovskiy, Dzerzhinskiy, and Primorskiy Rayons... Judging from the banners, the crowds included workers from the Optical Mechanical association, the Karl Liebknecht Mechanical Plant, the "Rossiya" association, and other enterprises.

The rally organized by the city's trade union federation began under the slogan: "Our strength lies in solidarity." The speeches of a pipe roller from the Baltiyskiy plant and a worker from the S.M. Kirov meat combine voiced demands for the abolition of the 5-percent sales tax and an increase in pay commensurate with the rise in prices.

A special theme of the rally was provided by the recent Leningrad City Soviet session which discussed problems of the privatization of housing. The overwhelming majority of speeches voiced an appeal not to allow the sale of apartments into private ownership. "Apartments for people on the Leningrad waiting list, not for people with fat wallets!" was the cry at the rally.

The rain affected the May Day program in Kiev. Instead of two columns of people many thousands strong marching under slogans reflecting different aspects of life in the Ukraine today, there were several thin columns of representatives of rayons, labor collectives, and parties crossing the Kreshchatik. Trade unions organized one demonstration which was dominated by appeals for solidarity and economic demands to the authorities—do not let the mistakes of the government be placed on the shoulders of the people—and a demand to create conditions for an honest wage without restrictions. A second procession—also legal—was organized by Rukh and the Ukrainian Republican Party. This impressive column of people included many miners from all the republic's coal regions. This procession had some particularly political slogans—"Freedom to the Ukraine!"

This year's May Day was awaited with anxiety in many places: Would there be holiday demonstrations at all, would workers turn out on May Day? This was understandable. Over many years the May Day festival had been turned into an ostentatious ritual with sacred words about the unity of the party and the people and ballyhoo about labor successes whose results few had seen. As is well known, a particular situation occurred before May Day in Belorussia. Workers went on strike, participated in rallies numbering many thousands of people, and seemed implacable in their demands to the government and the Supreme Soviet of the republic. The losses from those strikes ran into tens of millions of rubles. Output at the tractor plant alone was 2,000 machines below target. The collectives of all the major enterprises in Minsk decided to work on their days off to make good the damage caused by the strikes. After that who can say that Minsk workers are without consciousness? The fact that this is untrue was shown by the large May Day columns on Lenin Square and Leninskiy Prospekt in the Belorussian capital. For the first time, leaders of the government, the Belorussian Communist Party, and the Supreme Soviet headed by V. Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, did not stand as usual on the "leaders'" rostrum but walked in the column along with the workers.

Above the columns working people held banners with the slogans "The market needs a market wage!"; "We will unite and protect working people's rights!"; and "We want consolidation for the sake of the fatherland's salvation!"... [passage omitted]

"As is life, so is the weather," one of the speakers at the rally-cum-demonstration in Tallinn remarked about the May Day weather, which was rainy with a cold wind blowing from the sea. The rally was held outside the City Soviet Executive Committee building on Freedom Square. Its organizers were the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the United Council of Labor Collectives. Speakers talked about life's burdens and the need to defend the interests and rights of working people of all nationalities. But how? This can only be done with accord and friendship in the republic. The slogans and appeals which participants in the rally carried confirmed their solidarity with the speakers: "For equal rights"; "Yes to the Union Treaty"; "Estonian Government—more goods—fewer departments."

May Day demonstrations and rallies were held in the northeast Estonian cities of Kohtla-Jarve, Narva, Sillamae, and a number of others.

Here is our Ashkhabad correspondent's report. "Turkmenia within the Union and only with the Union"—that eloquent slogan, like many others in the columns from the Sovetskiy and Proletarskiy Rayons of the city, unambiguously reflected the mood of inhabitants of the capital of this southern republic whose people cannot imagine themselves outside the united fatherland with which they link the republic's political and economic plans. The Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution guarantees all nationalities living on the republic's territory the right to free national cultural development—that is one point from the Turkmenistan declaration. Today that position is the best guarantee of Turkmenia's stability and prosperity.

This year there is no official celebration of May Day in Armenia. By decision of the legislature this day has been

removed from the calendar of holidays in the republic. Today is a normal workday here.

The May Day holiday is not being marked officially in Lithuania either. Almost all the republic's enterprises, state institutions, and organizations are working a normal day. However, a number of enterprises, mainly those under Union jurisdiction, remained true to tradition and declared May Day a non-working holiday. Previously the Lithuanian Government had resolved that those labor collectives which do not turn out for work during the May Day holidays will be obliged to make up for those days. On the initiative of the Lithuanian Communist Party and sociopolitical organizations and movements close to it, a May Day rally was held in the morning on Lukiskju (formerly Lenin) Square. Later there was a May Day meeting of working people from an industrial district in the city of Novo-Vilne.

May Day in Latvia had features of its own. For example, both Janis Dinevic, leader of the People's Front group in the Latvian legislature, and Sergey Dimanis, leader of the opposition group "Equal Rights," went to May Day celebrations in the morning. Admittedly, they took different routes. Dinevic took part in events organized by the Social Democrats, Dimanis joined those organized by the Communists. The fact that even holidays are divided in Latvia no longer surprises anyone. Nor does the fact that the speeches at the different parties' rallies were diametrically opposed. Some think that the People's Front has made good use of the year that it has been in power: The Baltic problem has begun to be discussed at international level and complete freedom is expected by the end of the year, whereas others claim that the year since the proclamation of the declaration of independence has shown the futility of the chosen path: They have surpassed all the republics in terms of price levels and the restoration of property to its former owners is harming Latvians' future. The disruption of ties with the Union threatens complete economic catastrophe.

Several thousand people marched in columns along the streets of Kishinev. The Moldova People's Front and other social movements from the "16 December" alliance organized a rally on the central square in front of the monument not to Lenin but to Stefan the Great. The speeches were not noticeable for their pluralism. The main themes of the majority of them were slogans proclaimed on placards and banners: "Down with" the Communist Party, "No" to the Union Treaty and the recent Gorbachev-Iliescu "plot"—the treaty between the USSR and Romania. There were expressions of support for the government of Mircha Druk, the demands of the striking miners in Russia and the Ukraine, and the ideas of the unity of Romanians on both sides of the Prut River.

In Beltsy, Tiraspol, Komrat, Rybnitsa, and other cities in the republic, however, May Day passed normally: The demonstrations were well attended, festive, and—"on the right theme": in the name of the solidarity of working people in all countries.

Rallies and demonstrations were also held in other republic capitals and cities across the country.

May Day Termed Holiday of 'Hope'

LD0105182791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1130 GMT 1 May 91

[Nikolay Agayants commentary: "A Holiday Which Is Always With Us"]

[Text] There are any number of ways of approaching proletarian May Day, the holiday which we are celebrating in Russia for the 100th time this year. If you wish, you can recite orchestrated calls for unity and solidarity at well-organized meetings and demonstrations. You can wave flags and banners. On the other hand, if you wish, you can simply stop and think about where we are heading, what needs doing. At a time of deepest crisis, general impoverishment and discontent, for example, do we really need all sorts of bogus, feigned optimism and nationwide rejoicing—in fact, the very things which Central Television so irritatingly treated us to in today's relays from Moscow and from some capitals of Union republics.

I have to admit, however, that throughout my long, conscious life, I have never witnessed anything similar to what happened today on the country's main square, Red Square. The May Day meeting convened by 38 trade unions was a modest and unconvincing affair. USSR President Gorbachev; Supreme Soviet Chairman Lukyanov; and several other unfamiliar officials belonging to trade unions and other organizations in the capital peered down from the mausoleum onto the columns of tired and subdued people. To sparse applause the speakers hurried through their rather gloomy and, no doubt, completely sincere speeches about rising prices, about the authorities' lack of a clearcut reform program, about the need to find a way out of the impasse.

This was a rather strange holiday. On the one hand there were the customary speeches and slogans. We had the usual tiresome verbiage of television commentators, the usual articles in the semi-official press highlighted in red letters. We were also, however, treated to the outbursts by campaigners for the socialist choice which have recently become more frequent.

Journalist Ivan Sharov, for example, writing in PRAVDA, has clearly forgotten all about the holiday of solidarity and peace. He once again raged on about domestic enemies and destructive elements which tour the country, rabble rousing and inflaming passions. He reserved a generous amount of vitriol for the so-called democrats who, it transpires, would like to distribute land to the peasants. What words did the eminent PRAVDA writer choose for the festive edition? Just listen: They—he's referring to the democrats—are trying in devious and base ways to drive a wedge between the people and the Communist Party, the Army, the militia, and the security organs, between the generations, and so on. In other words, this is the old and absolutely trite

song, completely inappropriate to May Day and especially to the slogan under which PRAVDA appears: Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Vladimir Vladimirovich Mayakovskiy, the most talented poet of our epoch, in the now-far-off years just after the revolution, proclaimed: May labor, peace, and May shine forever over our republic. I do not know about anybody else, but as far as I am concerned, May—as befits a bright spring month—will go on shining, come what may. The holiday itself will always be with us, in our hearts, without any need for appeals and slogans, for infusions of propaganda and ideological contortions by people seeking to whip up tedious merry-making. May Day will always remain a human holiday of hope and love.

TASS Reviews Soviet Press for 2 May

LD0205090691 Moscow TASS in English 0732 GMT 2 May 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 2 TASS—Today's press highlights the celebration of May Day—the day of internationalist solidarity of working people—in the country and abroad.

"An unusual May Day", "The May of Concerns and Hopes", "Working People are for the Union" are the headlines of articles in newspapers on this subject.

A column of reports in PRAVDA note that this time May Day holiday has been marked in the country "with less pomp, ostentation and with the lack of the husk of many formalities".

A PRAVDA report from the May Day meeting held in Moscow says that the meeting had been contemplated by Moscow trade unions as an action to express the socio-economic demands of the working people.

Those present at the meeting adopted a resolution stating support for the joint statement of the president of the USSR and the leaders of nine republics, and their readiness to firmly uphold the interests of the working people in the current complex economic and political situation.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reporters who visited Moscow squares and streets on may day write that, despite the Democratic Russia Movement's [DRM] refusal to participate in the May Day meeting in the Red Square, "the DRM was as if invisibly present there" in political slogans demanding the president's resignation.

The TRUD newspaper, for its part, notes the "calm and business-like attitudes" by those present at the Red Square meeting.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports that such cities as Minsk, Bishkek, Lvov, Voronezh, Dnepropetrovsk, Ulyanovsk, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, and Nizhny Novgorod that show such a variety of political sentiments, "marked May Day in the same manner—by meetings or demonstrations under red banners".

Newspapers' and TASS correspondents reports how May Day was marked in other countries.

PRAVDA announces that the newspaper's festival opens in Moscow on Friday and carries in this connection Mikhail Gorbachev's message of greetings to participants and organisers of the PRAVDA festival.

"Only by deepening the processes of democratisation and only through an open dialogue with people adhering to various views and convictions, the Soviet Communist Party can work out and pursue a policy which people would trust and support", the message says.

The press reports the situation in Georgia's earthquake-hit areas. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports that six areas were rocked by the quake. According to preliminary data, 49 people were killed, more that 360 injured and 17,000 houses were destroyed.

PRAVDA writes that search-and-rescue operations involving thousands of people are going on in those areas. People from Russia, the Ukraine, Armenia and other republics as well as specialists from France are taking part in the operations alongside rescue and medical teams that have arrived from all over Georgia.

Newspapers continue to discuss the recently signed joint statement of the president of the USSR and the leaders of nine union republics on urgent measures to stabilise the situation in the country and to overcome the crisis.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN (RURAL LIFE) newspaper carries an interview with Byelorussian Prime Minister V. Kebich who commented on the "extraordinary and unprecedented document", as the newspaper described it.

A new formula of the Union as a union of sovereign states had been worked out during the meeting between the USSR president and the leaders of the nine Union republics, Kebich said. "This should be viewed as the recognition of the sovereignty of republics. The centre undertook to reckon with that," Kebich added.

"The joint statement can and must serve as the stabiliser of internal relations, including inter-ethnic ones, and as a safeguard for the consolidation of sober-minded forces in the country," Yuri Shabanov emphasises in a commentary in PRAVDA.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN writes about the development of new economic structures in the countryside, citing the union of cooperating farmers as an example of the efficiency of such forms. The author of an article to this effect refers to the union of cooperating farmers as "the optimum pattern of agricultural production in this country's conditions and in our days".

A military news analyst of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA raises the subject of the lack of legal protection of interior-ministry soldiers and officers who are in areas of inter-ethnic conflicts.

Thirty-eight members of special-purpose militia squads have been killed and hundreds have been wounded or injured by militants in recent years. The analyst laments the impunity of criminals and the overt powerlessness of the investigation personnel of the union and republican procurator's offices.

"My Wife and I are Illegals" is the headline of an interview in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA with an officer of the Soviet State Security Committee's first main directorate dealing with foreign intelligence. This man has clandestinely operated abroad for more than twenty years and returned home quite recently.

On the eve of Victory Day, TRUD carries an article about the 1945 surrender of the Berlin Garrison. The article is based on the already known archival documents which, however, have never been published before.

The Soviet Ministry of Justice recently announced the registration of the International Association in Support of Perestroika (IASP) which has already been functioning for a year as a Geneva-based international organisation, PRAVDA reports.

In a PRAVDA interview, Vladimir Lisichkin, academician at the USSR Engineering Academy and president of the IASP, dwells on the destiny of perestroika in the Soviet Union, its international aspects, and the first moves of the IASP.

"Nowadays, paradoxically as it may sound, the number of supporters of the Soviet Union's perestroika is larger in other countries than inside the USSR," Lisichkin said, emphasising that "the way to the revitalisation of the Soviet economy lies only through a free market".

Announcers Desert Central TV for Russian TV

PM0105153291 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 15, 14-21 Apr 91 p 10

[Yelena Chekalova report: "Central TV Boosts the Image of Russian TV"]

[Text] Maybe this is a scoop: it looks as if Central TV (CTV) is preparing to disband.

Nowadays you can only see two stars on its airwaves—Vladislav Listev, once a week, and Vladimir Molchanov, once a month. The other forces appearing on its channels can hardly be called stars. Some of the brillian Vzglyad (a hard-hitting weekly programme) stars, debarred from the screen, have found jobs on TV beyond the Urals and in the Baltics (they record Vzglyad on cassettes).

All the rest say they are prepared to work for the new Russian TV Channel: Vladimir Tsvetov, Vladislav Flyarkovskiy, Tatyana Mitkova, Yuriy Rostov, Dmitriy Kiselev, Aleksandr Gurnov, Yevgeniy Kiselev and Vladimir Pozner. Ready to join them are the biggest names in the film, stage, and music world, leaders in the pop-culture of Artem Troitskiy's caliber. They add up to a team which is going to compete for the first time in Soviet history with Central TV, now officially known as the All-Union TV Company. The way the latter has been operating lately, one has a furtive thought: is it deliberately trying to strengthen its rival?

Well, as early as this March, the Seven Days weekly (No. 10) published the figures of the CTV-conducted popularity poll. The TSN night news show was voted the best on CTV, not only among its news programmes but overall, with a rating that was even better than the Italian serial "The Octopus" (La Piovra). The TSN anchor woman Tatyana Mitkova rated high, but not as high as Michele Placido in the series. Less than two weeks after this publication, Tatyana Mitkova was replaced by Irina Mishina, a completely new name. Tatyana turned to the Russian TV Company for a job only to find that she was more than welcome.

Central Television is run by nomenklatura who do not care for television. No TV station can be successful without "stars" because the viewer believes specific people rather than the tube itself. If viewers see no people they can trust, they decide that if those who lied about the Vilnius events now attack Yeltsin, this means that Yeltsin is the viewers' only hope.

What is being played out on CTV is a strange play in the style of theatre of the absurd. While pros and popular idols are chased away, their places are being filled by complete strangers, some of whom have no previous experience on TV, or who are even totally unfit to appear live. One would say that the viewers may take it as an insult of their intelligence. But who cares for viewers? CTV has no use for either stars or viewers. It needs no television forf that matter. Otherwise how can you explain the pogrom the All-Union TV Company has unleashed inside its own walls?

The opening of the Russian Channel has been postponed twice: one time the chairman of the All-Union TV Company—vested by the USSR President with monopoly powers on the airwaves—would not endorse the broadcasting plan, the other time he would not give clearance for the leasing of equipment, studios and control rooms. Despite all this Russian TV is producing its own programmes for later use. Its staffers feel the challenge. "We believe that May 12, the day we really go on the air, will mark the birth of a new television era," says Director-General of the Russian TV Company Anatoliy Lysenko. "An era of normal TV. With viewers' idols. No studios? We'll broadcast from empty hallways using the most basic techniques. Add to this the sincerity and emotional uplift of the hosts and hosts' hunger for the air, and you'll get a very emotional picture of 'frontline trench' TV."

Well, whatever you say, the All-Union TV Company could not have thought of a better way to help its rival. Even before going on the air, the Russian Channel has won a large chunk of credibility.

Legal Provisions on States of Emergency Viewed

PM3004103591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 91 Second Edition p 5

["Question—Answer" article by L. Lazarev, deputy sector chief at the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat's Department for Questions of Legislation, Law, and Order; first paragraph is reader's letter: "Emergency Powers"]

[Text] "I would like to know just what 'direct presidential rule' is. Under what circumstances does it come into force? Ye. Guselshchikova, Donetsk."

The editorial office turned to L. Lazarev, deputy sector chief at the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat's Department for Questions of Legislation, Law, and Order, for an answer.

[Lazarev] The possibility of the introduction of temporary or, in other words, direct presidential rule is covered by Paragraph 15 of Article 127 (3) of the USSR Constitution. The Basic Law associates such presidential rule with a state of emergency.

A state of emergency is declared in accordance with the USSR Constitution and law in the interests of ensuring the safety of Soviet citizens in natural disasters, major accidents, catastrophes, epidemics, epizootics, and mass unrest. The aim of introducing the state of emergency is to ensure the speediest normalization of the situation, and the restoration of legality and law and order. This temporary measure is described as such in Article 1 of the USSR law "On the Legal Arrangements Governing States of Emergency" of 3 April 1990.

The USSR Constitution lays down that, in the interests of ensuring Soviet citizens' safety, the USSR president may give notice that a state of emergency may be declared in certain areas and, if necessary, may declare and introduce a state of emergency with the consent of the Supreme Soviet Presidium or the supreme organ of state power in the relevant union republic. In the absence of such consent the USSR president can declare a state of emergency provided that this decision is immediately put to the USSR Supreme Soviet for ratification.

In the aforementioned cases the USSR president can introduce temporary presidential rule provided that the Union republic's sovereignty and territorial integrity are observed. Arrangements for both a state of emergency and for presidential rule are laid down by law. A law has not yet been adopted on the arrangements governing presidential rule.

If we look at foreign experience, most presidential republican constitutions lay down certain powers for presidents should emergency circumstances arise. Thus, in such situations the French president is entitled to take measures "dictated by the circumstances." Presidential measures are aimed at safeguarding the activity of constitutional organs of power.

Yakovlev Views Current Political Scene

PM0105160291 Moscow IAN PRESS RELEASE in English 22 Apr 91

[Interview with Soviet presidential adviser Aleksandr Yakovlev by Spartak Beglov: "Aleksandr Yakovlev on the Future of the USSR"]

[Text] The Soviet president's senior adviser, Aleksandr Yakovlev, has been on a brief foreign tour. In France he attended the presentation of his book "What We Are Trying To Do in the USSR and in Britain." He was awarded the title of Honorary Doctor of Exeter University. Novosti's Spartak Beglov, talks with Aleksandr Yakovlev about the past, present and future of perestroika in the Soviet Union.

[Beglov] What are the main achievements of perestroika over the past six years?

[Yakovlev] Political freedom, opportunities for genuine democratisation, glasnost, and political plurality. These are not the only assets of perestroika. An exhaustive analysis of what has happened will be made in the future.

[Beglov] And what are our flaws and errors?

[Yakovlev] They are obvious, particularly in the economy. Some of the steps we have taken in the financial sphere look quite illogical. What was the purpose of saturating society with money when there were no commodities? The gap between the money and commodity supply has reached such huge proportions that the political situation depends 90 percent on the material sector now.

If there were more goods and foodstuffs on the market, there would be less political speculation. "Previously, our life was better," the right-wing forces shout. "Let us turn back. Perestroika was a mistake and therefore failed!"

"We are in a crunch because the reforms move too slowly," their left-wing opponents protest. One thing lies behind all this, in fact. If the consumer market were different, even inevitable political disputes would be conducted on a higher conceptual level and would be filled with an absolutely different theoretical, practical and spiritual content. The accent now is on the most urgent problems.

[Beglov] All the talk about the left-wing, right-wing and centrist forces reminds me of Ivan Krylov's fable about

the swan, the pike and the crayfish who were harnessed to one cart and tried to pull it along. The cart is still there.

[Yakovlev] I think the situation is slightly different. The president passes decrees which are transformed into anti-decrees because they are twisted the other way round. Consider the Law on Cooperatives, for instance. Many of the state enterprises, including defence enterprises, have been turned into cooperatives and are producing consumer goods now. What is the result?

They have increased wages for their workers, but the volume of goods, which are now sold at higher prices, has remained the same. The production of goods has not increased. One should have given priority importance to the truly independent cooperatives and to independent owners, putting them and other producers on an equal footing. This did not happen and now you have a situation whereby one and the same goods, produced by cooperatives and state enterprises, are sold at different prices.

[Beglov] Now let us discuss the political aspect. Who in your opinion brings more disorder to the process of change: the right-wing or the left-wing forces?

[Yakovlev] It is difficult to say. Both do their bit. The right-wing forces seem more dangerous to me, however, because they have materialised strength. As to the leftists, their bark is worse than their bite, but their strength lies in their awareness that we cannot live the old way.

[Beglov] When you speak about the right-wing forces, do you mean the state and party apparatus?

[Yakovlev] Yes, I do, plus part of the commanders of the military-industrial complex. Bureaucrats are angry people, who are experienced and well-versed in politics. But what can the rightists propose? They have already had a chance to try and nothing has come of it. The leftists, obviously, do not know what to do because of their inexperience. Besides, not all of them are totally honest and some have emerged on the political scene from God knows where.

They often try to replace bureaucrats in the soviets and show that they can control everything from hairdressing salons to pipelines. In fact, they can't. As a result, the independent executive apparatus, which is supposed to be professional, does not work.

[Beglov] What would you say about the personal side of the matter and about the two chief figures on the Soviet political arena?

[Yakovlev] In any case, the Soviet president and the president of other republics, including the Russian Federation, must find a common language and act together because they are responsible for our future. Confrontation and ideological rivalry must be brushed away.

[Beglov] The Russian Federation MPs have formed a group, "Communists for Democracy", which may give the centre a chance to establish contacts with the Russian federation's radicals and find a common language with them.

[Yakovlev] Unfortunately, the leaders of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation oppose this move, which reflects their inability to understand that the party can lead the processes instead of checking them. It is a short-sighted policy. I personally, share the mood of the group "Communists for Democracy". Contacts would benefit the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

[Beglov] What is the way out?

[Yakovlev] Civil accord. Petty grudges, ambitions, ideological dogmas and the procurator's habit of accusing others must be brushed away.

[Beglov] What do you think of the idea of a government of national accord?

[Yakovlev] It is a good idea. The more brains, the better.

[Beglov] How would you describe the society which we are destined to build in the long run?

[Yakovlev] I would describe it as democratic and law-based society in which the individual can fully display his talents.

Shevardnadze's Foreign Policy Association Viewed

91UF0700A Moscow GLASNOST in Russian No 16, 18 Apr 91 p 4

[Article under the rubric: "We Answer Questions"; first paragraph is reader's letter: "How Will E. Shevardnadze Occupy Himself?"]

[Text] What is this foreign policy association, which E. A. Shevardnadze is the head of?—A. Yakovlev, Klin.

T. G. Stepanov, one of the former foreign minister's closest aides, reported to our correspondent M. Volchkov that the foreign policy association is a nongovernmental organization. Among its goals are the consolidation of important intellectual forces to support and carry out in practice the principles of new political thinking; cooperation with the foreign-policy line which was launched at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the XXVII CPSU Congress; and the development of independent expertise in the area of international relations. Among approximately 25 founders are the Scientific-Industrial Union [nauchno-promyshlennyy soyuz], the Soviet Peace Fund, and the Diplomatic Academy.

Organizations like this one exist in many countries. Many of them actively cooperate with government agencies: They carry out analytical reviews and concern themselves with forecasting situations in the area of international relations. For example, the situation which is taking shape in the Persian Gulf since the end of the war. A more or less reliable forecast can be made only on

the basis of the assessments of a large number of high-level specialists and experts in science and international journalism, as well as those working in government and other institutions.

The association will study international experience in the search for agreement and settlements in conflict situations, and will involve itself in publishing and educational activities. E. A. Shevardnadze's group will draw no commercial revenues from its activities. However, according to its charter it has the right to create labor collectives, whose activities will produce the profits necessary to finance research.

The new nongovernmental organization's international ties cover a wide spectrum. Today approximately forty similar foreign organizations have suggested joint projects in problems of economics and ecology. In the future, the founders hope to set up branch offices in the republics. The experience of cooperating organizations of specialists can be useful in, for example, regulating economic relations.

Pamyat Leader Commits Suicide in Jail

LD3004084491 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Tver April 29 TASS—Konstantin Smirnov-Ostashvili, a convicted leader of the nationalist Pamyat organisation, committed suicide in a penitentiary in Tver, not far from Moscow.

He was sentenced to two years in a maximum security prison last December for having led a disturbance at Moscow's Central Writers' House, which was marked by violations of ethnic and racial equality.

B. Frolov, chief of the Tver regional administration for corrective labour institutions, said that Smirnov-Ostashvili left no suicide note and that the reason why he took his own life remains a mystery.

He said an investigation is under way into the suicide.

Correction to Korablev Plenum Speech

WA0205134091

The item headlined "Korablev Sees Gulf Between Gorbachev, Party," which was published on pages 23-24 of the 29 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT Supplement, is actually a compilation of the PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports on Korablev's speech and not the PRAVDA version as indicated. Following are the two versions of the speech.

PRAVDA Version

PM0205094391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 91 Second Edition p 3

["Account" of speech by N.N. Korablev, chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Party Organization Control and Auditing Commission, delivered at CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum on 25 April]

[Text] Communists from many party organizations demanded the convocation of this plenum so that you and I, recognizing our responsibility to the country and party, could, first, convey to our leadership authentic information from the localities, and, second, demand from the country's president and general secretary of the Central Committee not just more talk about the accumulated problems, but resolute actions to impose order in the country.

Speaking about the government program, the speaker noted that it undoubtedly offers a number of serious measures of an economic nature. At the same time, in general this document is inconsistent, has a great many contradictions, and does not contain a finished concept for leading society out of this most profound crisis. You can hardly call it normalization when the recent price increase hit the people's pockets so hard that consumption of food products fell by 50-75 percent. Hundreds of tonnes of meat and sausage products have already been dumped. And this is happening in a starving country!

There is already a clear sense that the second spiral of inflation is now gathering ever greater speed, in connection with the increase in payments from taxable turnover, which has naturally increased because of the price rises. This means that enterprises lose incentives for expanding production, including production of consumer goods, and for increasing labor productivity.

Price deregulation, which is envisaged for a large group of goods in the third quarter of this year, will inevitably lead to a third inflationary spiral, in the speaker's opinion. On the other hand, everything relating to the index-linking of incomes, methods of social protection, sources of finance, and essential protective measures is delineated in the document only in the most general terms and is preceded by the words "it is necessary to formulate a system."

Great dissatisfaction among the population, the speaker believes, will be aroused by the idea that "strengthening the ruble and implementing a tough financial, monetary, and credit policy" must necessarily require that housing and the means of production be brought into circulation. Such measures could detonate social processes whose results are very easy to predict. We cannot take up or support such a position for it jeopardizes working people's constitutional right to housing.

The next, very important question, the speaker continued, is about accelerating the development of market relations. It is true that we adopted these decisions at the 28th party congress and are not going back on them. But I would like to speak on two very fundamental points.

The first relates to the privatization and demonopolization of state enterprises. It is no secret that these, and particularly enterprises in the defense complex, have

been put in a very difficult position today. The intention is absolutely clear. Basically, to suit political ambitions and a certain category of profiteers, the holy of holies is to be sacrificed—the country's mighty scientific and technical potential and its defense capability. This policy is contrary not only to the socialist choice, but also to worldwide trends and simple common sense. The world economy cannot exist without large-scale firms and concerns. Small companies are, naturally, needed. They fill economic niches left by the giants. Consequently we should be talking not about dismantling large enterprises and destroying them, but about a normal process of development of diversified production units mainly those that meet the working people's concrete needs.

And the second thing: While working on today's anticrisis measures, we are not entitled to forget for a single moment that the history of our great state does not end in 1991, nor yet in the year 2000. Therefore it is our duty to invest considerable resources in the development of those sectors that work for the long term, for the future. The development of the system of training and education of the individual in all his manifestations—from creches and kindergartens to postgraduate studies and the Academy of Sciences—must be state policy. We are categorically opposed to a labor market, and advocate a state system for training and retraining cadres and a state system for ensuring employment, which is dealt with in a rather empty rhetorical style in the program. The party of social protection of the working people cannot approve actions oriented against the working person. In N.N. Korablev's opinion, it is time that the government seriously analyzed all the existing anticrisis programs.

Any program takes time, the speaker noted, and unfortunately that is what we do not have. Order must be imposed in the country immediately. Therefore USSR President and Communist Gorbachev must adopt the most resolute measures to rescue the state from economic and political chaos. We should hear from the president today whether he intends to do this.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Version

PM2604210091 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

["Speech by N.N. Korablev, Chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Party Organization Control and Auditing Commission," delivered at CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum on 25 April]

[Text] Esteemed comrades!

I would like to remind you that Communists from many party organizations demanded the convocation of this plenum so that you and I, recognizing our responsibility to the country and party, could, first, convey to our leadership authentic information from the localities, and, second, demand from the country's president and general secretary of the Central Committee not just more talk about the accumulated problems, but resolute actions to impose order in the country.

Surely it is not only at lower-level conferences and in the smoking rooms that we can speak frankly and with total honesty. After all, every one of us bears the burden of the concern of hundreds of thousands of Communists for the fate of the country and the party, for the lives of our fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, children and grandchildren.

Yesterday our esteemed general secretary, and today Comrade Nazarbayev, accused dozens of party organizations of aligning themselves with the right because they are demanding his resignation, and we swallowed it...

I don't know, Mikhail Sergeyevich, but I have the impression that for you plenums are nothing but a tedious ritual that you have to undergo whether you like it or not, although they have no influence on your actual policy. Perhaps that is why, although the entire people have no love for you, you feel so confident of receiving our tacit support.

As for an alignment of right and left, allow me to disagree with you, Mikhail Sergeyevich. It is you, if anyone, who should be accused of alignment with the right. You even quote none other than our former comrade, A.N. Yakovlev, who pulled so hard on the left-hand oar that he finally fell out on the right-hand side.

As for your resignation, don't blame those who elevated you to the summit of state and party power. After all, they are the very same people for whose sake, Mikhail Sergeyevich, you conceived of perestroyka, and if they don't like it, then I think the appropriate conclusions should be drawn.

I am against hasty decisions, but believe me, Mikhail Sergeyevich, the party committees have substantial reasons for being disappointed with your actions both as general secretary and as president of the country.

The gulf between the party and its general secretary is, alas, increasing at a disastrous speed.

I am not saying this in order to add fuel to the fire and dramatize the situation. I only want to emphasize the burden of responsibility that we take on our shoulders when we try to show people the light at the end of a tunnel blown up by the political and social cataclysms of recent years.

What can I say in concrete terms? The government program undoubtedly offers a number of serious measures of an economic nature. At the same time, in general the proposed document is eclectic and inconsistent, has a great many contradictions, and does not contain a finished concept for leading society out of this most profound crisis.

Indeed, whom does the program defend? What levers does it bring into operation in the country? These are questions of principle, to which we must find the answers. Unfortunately, the conclusions are far from reassuring. One of the first principles to be proclaimed is

that of further deregulation of prices, as a necessary condition of the normalization of the consumer market.

You can hardly call it normalization when the recent price increase hit the people's pockets so hard that consumption of food products fell by 50-75 percent.

There is already a clear sense that the second spiral of inflation is now gathering ever greater speed, in connection with the increase in payments from taxable turnover, which has naturally increased because of the price rises. This means that enterprises lose incentives for expanding production, including production of consumer goods, and for increasing labor productivity. And whatever the form of production relations, this ultimately alienates the individual from the results of his labor.

Perhaps this assessment sounds too harsh. But this is not only the opinion of our party organization, but also of many scientists and specialists. In other words, it adequately reflects the emerging situation.

Price deregulation, which is envisaged for a large group of goods in the third quarter of this year, will inevitably lead to a third inflationary spiral. On the other hand, everything relating to the index-linking of incomes, methods of social protection, sources of finance, and essential protective measures is, conversely, delineated in the document only in the most general terms, preceded by the words "it is necessary to formulate a system..."

Although it is obvious that without a clear, well-thought-out system of measures and methods of implementing it at every level, from Union level to local level, the proposed program will be just another declaration.

Great dissatisfaction is undoubtedly aroused among the population by the idea that strengthening the ruble and implementing a tough financial, monetary, and credit policy must necessarily require that housing and the means of production be brought into circulation. Such measures are not only unpopular, they could detonate social processes whose results are very easy to predict. We cannot take up or support such a position.

The next, very important question is about accelerating the development of market relations. It is true that we adopted these decisions at the 28th party congress, and are not going back on them. But I would like to speak on two very fundamental points. The first relates to the privatization and demonopolization of state enterprises.

It is no secret that these, and particularly enterprises in the defense complex, have been put in a very difficult position today. Hitting them is a clear attempt to cut down the national economic complex and ultimately derail the country from the track of socialist development.

The intention is absolutely clear. Basically, to suit political ambitions and a certain category of profiteers, the holy of holies is to be sacrificed—the country's mighty scientific and technical potential and its defense capability. This policy is contrary not only to the socialist choice, but also to worldwide trends and simple common sense. The world economy cannot exist without large-scale firms and concerns.

Small companies are, naturally, needed; they fill economic niches left by the giants. Consequently we should be talking not about dismantling large enterprises and destroying them, but about a normal process of development of diversified production units, mainly those that meet the working people's concrete needs.

And the second thing: While working on today's anticrisis measures, we are not entitled to forget for a single moment that the history of our great state does not end in 1991, nor yet in the year 2000. Therefore it is our duty to invest considerable resources in the development of those sectors that work for the long term, for the future. The development of the system of training and education of the individual in all his manifestations—from creches and kindergartens to postgraduate studies and the Academy of Sciences—must be state policy.

We are categorically opposed to a labor market, and advocate a state system for training and retraining cadres and a state system for ensuring employment, which is dealt with in a rather empty rhetorical style in the program.

And if you take into account the unacceptability of the provisions I spoke of above, the Communist Party cannot approve such a program. Otherwise 16 million Communists, deliberately excluded from the formulation of state decisions and, for the most part, entirely free of blame for today's chaos, will become hostages to the government.

The party of social protection of the working people cannot approve actions oriented against the working person.

This is not only the position of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom [oblast committee], but also of a large group of Leningrad economic leaders, who instructed me to put it forward here at the plenum.

At the same time we are very well aware that our society and economy cannot go on in this state.

We need an anticrisis program, but one that the people would support, because only they can change the situation. People—not all of them Leningraders—have such programs, and so it is time the government analyzed them seriously.

One last thing. Any program takes time, and unfortunately that is what we do not have. Order must be imposed in the country immediately, and therefore unless the great powers granted to you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, are finally used to extricate the country from the crisis, my intuition tells me that the next prime minister will simply not be able to fulfill the role of yet another noble lord from the monarch's immediate

entourage who is thrown out of the Kremlin porch to calm the hungry Moscow mob for a time. When the lower strata are unable and the bosses are unwilling, it always ends badly for both sides. That is axiomatic. Therefore USSR President and Communist M.S. Gorbachev has no alternative but to find a way to adopt the most resolute measures to rescue the state from economic and political chaos. We should hear from the president today whether he intends to do this. Otherwise the question that arises is that of the party's political confidence in the general secretary.

Correction to Rubiks Plenum Speech

WA0205134291

The item headlined "Rubiks Hits Lack of Support From Moscow," which was published on pages 24-26 of the 29 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT Supplement, is actually a compilation of the PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports on Rubik's speech and not the PRAVDA version as indicated. Following are the two versions of the speech.

PRAVDA Version

PM0205090391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 91 Second Edition pp 3, 4

["Account" of speech delivered by A.P. Rubiks, First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, at CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum on 25 April]

[Text] The republic's Communists as a whole do not support the demands being heard in and around the CPSU for the immediate separation of the posts of president and CPSU Central Committee general secretary and also for M.S. Gorbachev's resignation from these posts. We believe that Mikhail Sergeyevich's departure from either [lyuboy] of the posts he holds would lead to the devastation of the Communist Party in the country and, furthermore, to the revival of a national bourgeois dictatorship in the republic and the completion of the restoration of capitalism.

At the same time consideration should be given to the fact that the adoption of this decision at the recent Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was by no means unanimous. The republic's Communists were more united in their dissatisfaction at the absence of practical actions by the Communist president of the USSR to ensure constitutional order in the country and protect USSR citizens' rights throughout the territory of the Soviet Union.

We believe that the inconsistency and irresoluteness of the president and the Union Government are the reason why the correct programs and practical measures they propose are not implemented and the additional rights and emergency powers obtained from the country's parliament are not being used to impose legal order in the state. In this connection our plenum supported those Communists demanding an intensification of the president's actions to ensure compliance with the USSR Constitution throughout the territory of the Union, defend the socialist choice, prevent people dying, and oppose the pillaging and selling off of our country's wealth, the impoverishment of the people, and the disintegration of the Union.

On whom should we count if not on the Union Government and the CPSU as a whole? But what is actually happening? Here is an example of the "help" given to our party organization by the center. The republic's Communists are convinced that former Politburo Member A.N. Yakovlev promoted direct betrayal of the interests of socialism in Latvia. Through his deliberately false report to the Politburo about the course of perestroyka in the Baltic region he not only distorted the real state of affairs, not only misled the leadership of the party and state and thereby blocked the adoption of vitally important decisions, but also gave the green light to national separatism [natzional-separatizm; by analogy with Nazi "natzional-sotsializm"]. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum I have mentioned concluded that an active process of forming a totalitarian dictatorship of the renascent national bourgeoisie is taking place in the republic. This is what Yakovlev gave witting or unwitting approval to when recommending the Baltic path to others.

I realize that what I have said will earn me the wrath of not only those I am criticizing but also those behind them. But my duty as a Communist who is mandated to be part of the CPSU Central Committee not only by the votes of the 28th congress delegates but also by the faith of Latvia's Communists obliges me to say this.

Communists and nonparty people are justifiably saying: How long can you go on endlessly drawing conclusions at your plenums that the country is heading toward an abyss, crisis, collapse, bloodshed, how long are you going to stand by and watch the disintegration of the Army, the KGB, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]? Ultimately you must ensure the observance of laws and people's and citizens' rights. People are asking: How many sackfuls of resolutions, requests, and decisions from party and nonparty meetings have to be sent to Moscow before concrete measures start to be taken to establish legal order in the country?

To rectify the situation I consider it necessary to boldly and resolutely mobilize all state and legal power structures to impose constitutional order in the country, instead of dreaming of creating something new. Unless we do this immediately it will be too late. And then the normalization of life will cost much more in terms of effort and blood. For those who would come to power as a result of anarchy would not spare our blood. That is point one. The other point is: Enough of this pretending that what is happening in the country is bloodless perestroyka. Unfortunately the process is increasingly becoming bloody because of the lack of real protection for people and their rights.

The lessons and experience of the Latvian Communist Party's activity since the 28th CPSU Congress, together with reports on the state of affairs in the CPSU and the country as a whole, generate a recurrent thought that our main concern must be the organizational and political strengthening of party ranks. Serious and immediate thought must be given to the theoretical and practical questions of the workers movement in the country. It is extremely necessary for us to have a precise and scientifically substantiated answer at least to the the question: Why are workers today looking for and creating new organizational forms to protect their interests rather than doing this with the assistance of their own Communist Party, which is the ruling party, moreover?

It is no less important to use the party's resources to work among the masses and in parliaments on the signing of a new Union Treaty, the speaker noted. The Latvian Communist Party has submitted corresponding draft laws to the republic Supreme Soviet as a legislative initiative. We have proposed talks between the Communist Party and the Latvian People's Front. We believe that there is no more important task today than the preservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Version

PM2604200391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

["Speech by A.P. Rubiks, First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee," delivered at CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission Joint Plenum on 25 April]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held a few days ago tasked us CPSU Central Committee members from the republic party organization with reporting the following:

The Latvian Communist Party as a whole does not support the demands being heard in and around the CPSU for the immediate separation of the posts of president and CPSU Central Committee general secretary and also for M.S. Gorbachev's resignation from these posts. Latvia's Communists, who have experienced considerable troubles and difficulties during the years of perestroyka, believe that M.S. Gorbachev's departure from either [lyuboy] of the posts he holds would lead to the devastation of the party in the country and, furthermore, to the revival of a national bourgeois dictatorship in the republic and the completion of the restoration of capitalism in Latvia.

At the same time consideration should be given to the fact that the adoption of this decision at the plenum was by no means unanimous: A number of Central Committee members proposed that we dissociate ourselves from M.S. Gorbachev's policy and get him removed from the CPSU leadership. Latvia's Communists were more united in their dissatisfaction at the absence of practical actions by the Communist president of the USSR to ensure constitutional order in the country and protect people's and USSR citizens' rights. We believe that the inconsistency and irresoluteness of the president and the Union Government are the reason why the correct programs and practical measures they propose are not implemented and the additional rights and emergency powers obtained from the country's parliament are not being used to impose legal order in the state. In this connection our plenum supported those Communists demanding an intensification of the president's actions to ensure compliance with the USSR Constitution throughout the territory of the Union, defend the socialist choice, prevent people dying, and oppose the pillaging and selling off of our country's wealth, the impoverishment of the people, and the disintegration of the Union.

We have repeatedly and firmly stated that the Latvian Communist Party's tactics and strategy are based on the retention of the republic as part of the USSR, the socialist choice, and the people's unity with the Soviet Army and Navy. Given that, who if not us should be able to count on all-possible support from both the Union Government and the CPSU as a whole? But what is actually happening? Through the fault of USSR Minister of Internal Affairs and CPSU member Bakatin, who ignored persistent appeals from the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] minister in the republic was replaced: A competent Communist professional was replaced by a former CPSU member who has sworn allegiance to the separatists. The republic's internal affairs agencies have been depoliticized through the efforts of the new minister with the support of the Union MVD. It is only thanks to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's efforts and the staunchness of actual Communists working for the MVD that a section of the Latvian militia, including the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment, has remained loyal to their oath stemming from the USSR Constitution. I hope you can imagine the astonishment, incomprehension, and indignation caused among a large proportion of the republic's population when Bakatin turned up on the country's Security Council, when it was precisely security that this person was unable to ensure even very recently, for which he was removed from his post.

Another example of the "help" given to our party organization by the center. The republic's Communists are convinced that former Politburo member Yakovlev promoted direct betrayal of the interests of socialism in Latvia. Through his deliberately false report to the Politburo about the course of perestroyka in the Baltic region he not only distorted the real state of affairs, not only misled the leadership of the party and state and thereby blocked the adoption of vitally important decisions, but also gave the green light to national separatism [natzional-separatizm; by analogy with Nazi "natzional-sotsializm"].

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum concluded that an active process of forming a totalitarian dictatorship of the renascent national bourgeoisie is taking place in the republic. This is what Yakovlev gave witting or unwitting approval to when recommending the Baltic path to others. And this is a source of general incomprehension: What kind of advice can such a man give to a Communist president? And not only personal advice: He is leader of the group of advisers under the country's president.

I realize that what I have said will earn me the wrath of not only those I am criticizing but also those behind them. But my duty as a Communist, who is mandated to be part of the CPSU Central Committee not only by the trust of the 28th congress delegates but also the faith of Latvia's Communists, obliges me to say this.

There is one more thing I have to say in this connection. Ours is not the only republic where Communists are demanding that Politburo members present accountability reports to them. A fair demand, but what will they be able to tell us when, on the one hand, many highly important questions, including personnel redeployments, are not discussed at all by the Politburo, and, on the other, proposals voiced at its sessions are virtually disregarded in the work of the Communist government. Is this not the explanation for some of the miscalculations in the president's policy? Does the root of the evil not lie in neglecting your comrades in the party and its collective leadership organ?

I want to be understood correctly. I am not calling for the return of Politburo diktat, but I am insisting that opinions should be listened to and taken into consideration. Communists and nonparty people are justifiably saying: How long can you go on endlessly drawing conclusions at your plenums that the country is heading toward an abyss, crisis, collapse, bloodshed? How many more times do you intend to offer sympathy to the families of killed, humiliated, homeless, powerless people? How long are you going to stand by and watch the disintegration of the Army, the KGB, the MVD? In the name of what lofty goals do you allow the Army and yourselves to be abused? This wasn't what you promised when you initiated perestroyka! Ultimately you must ensure the observance of laws and people's and citizens' rights. People are asking: How many sackfuls of resolutions, requests, and decisions from party and nonparty meetings have to be sent to Moscow before concrete measures start to be taken to establish legal order in the country. As a Communist and a citizen I agree with them. As a people's deputy and representative of Latvia's Communists I have always voted for attractive democratic and humane programs in the hope that they would help to extricate the country from the crisis and I have myself submitted proposals, but when it came to implementation it transpired that there is nobody to implement them: Both the country and the party are uncontrollable.

To rectify the situation I consider it necessary to boldly and resolutely mobilize all state and legal power structures to impose constitutional order in the country. Unless we do this immediately it will be too late, and then the normalization of life will cost much more in terms of effort and blood. For those who would come to power as a result of anarchy would not spare our blood. That is point one. The other point is: Enough of this pretending that what is happening in the country is bloodless perestroyka. Unfortunately the process is increasingly becoming bloody because of the lack of real protection for people and their rights.

At Central Committee plenums and Politburo and Secretariat sessions we have often noted that there is no mechanism for exercising power and ensuring the fulfillment of the USSR Constitution and other legislative acts. So these mechanisms must be elaborated. This is the duty of state organs of power, and most frequently they are headed by Communists.

If the processes and realities we have today continue to happen in the future too and we keep tirelessly repeating at plenums and Politburo sessions that we are the ruling party that has managed to hold onto not only political but also state power during this complex period, very soon a day will come when people will again accuse us of leading the country into an impasse and demand responsibility. And then we will finally be stripped of our authority as a political organization.

Latvia's Communists believe that until such time as the Leninist principle of the collective elaboration of decisions and personal responsibility for their fulfillment becomes a rule and norm of party life we will not be successful. It is necessary to return to these principles because a great deal today is done without sufficient thought.

For my part I believe that the CPSU as a whole, from the individual Communist to republic and Union bodies, must speak out against the ceaseless demands for the resignation of the president and government. On the contrary, we Communists must resolutely come to their defense and give support to the party comrades at the helm of the Soviet state, combining this support with principled exactingness and monitoring.

Serious and immediate thought must be given to the theoretical and practical questions of the workers movement in the country. It is extremely necessary for us to have a precise and scientifically substantiated answer to the question: Why are workers today looking for and creating new organizational forms to protect their interests rather than doing this with the assistance of their own Communist Party? And the ruling party, moreover.

I believe that at this most complex stage in the country's history we in the Politburo lack a clear concept of cadre policy questions. Is this not why—despite being the ruling party—we have been unable for half a year now to form a government in the context of an acute government crisis and the reshaping of organs of power? Maybe

now is not the time to put a government together. When the new Union treaty is signed there will be new principles for forming governments. In a word, what is needed is a concept.

It is no less important to use the party's resources to work among the masses and in parliaments on the signing of a new Union treaty. The Latvian Communist Party has submitted a corresponding draft law to the republic Supreme Soviet as a legislative initiative, and has proposed talks with the Latvian People's Front.

We believe that there is no more important task today than the preservation of our Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. To act accordingly—that is how we see our duty.

In conclusion I wish to express comradely thanks to the Communists of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and Belorussia and the Communists of the Soviet Army and Navy, who are doing much to support the Baltic Communists in the struggle against the separatists. We Communists of Latvia will do everything to defend and uphold our common ideals, to uphold Soviet power in the Baltic region.

Russian Party Calls for Proclamation of Tsar

LD3004173791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1428 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 30 Apr (TASS)—The Russian National Party, which has just been set up in Moscow, has decided to appeal to the government of the Russian Federation and the chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet asking for Grand Duke Vladimir Kirillovich to be officially invited to the country.

The party's strategic task, its chairman Aleksey Brumel declares, is the "rebirth of the Russian state on the Russian lands of time immemorial." One of the goals will be the establishment of a limited constitutional monarchy and the proclamation of "Grand Duke Vladimir, the legitimate pretender [as received] to the throne" as Russian tsar.

The members of the party, as they say, will not "hinder the establishment of presidential power, since they will regard the president as the head of the cabinet of ministers, and the tsar as the symbolic head of state". To achieve their goals they intend to act "by legitimate legislative means."

Economic

PRAVDA Updates Kuzbass Strike Situation

PM0105094991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 May 91 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent S. Vtorushin report under the rubric "What Is Happening in the Kuzbass": "Passions Eclipsed Reason"]

[Text] Kemerovo Oblast—The situation at many Kuzbass mines is changing with unpredictable rapidity. When I asked where I could see working miners, I was told: Go to the Volkov Mine. But, in response to the same question, Mine Director Vasiliy Aleksandrovich Miller held out a telegram addressed to the railroad leadership. It gave official notification that the miners were ceasing to dispatch coal and so asking that empty cars not be sent. It turns out that the mine, which only yesterday was producing coal, has come to a halt. Such unpredictability is not fortuitous.

The miners' strike has already lasted some six weeks. It has hit hard not only at the state's economy but also at miners' families. And there is also the increase in the prices of all basic goods. The strikers have simply been left without the wherewithal for life. For they get no wages for precisely as long as they do not work. Therefore many of them are now thinking not about how to continue the strike but how to end it.

"There is no money in the enterprise's account," V. Miller said. "We decided to dispatch 16,500 tonnes of coal in order to give the workers an advance for March. But since the collective is experiencing colossal pressure from the city strike committee, we were forced to stop work at once."

It should be said that, despite the strike, some miners go down to the faces every day. The Volkov Mine, for example, has filled up badly with water. If the water pumps there are stopped for just a few days, it will be completely flooded and then it will be virtually impossible to rehabilitate it. In addition, the mine must be ventilated constantly. The people employed on this work cannot strike and have been going underground every day throughout these six weeks. But, since the mine is not extracting coal and so not earning any money, they have been forced to carry out their work without payment. At the same time the rest of the miners are playing dominoes or traveling around other mines, urging people not to start work.

The economic situation of the coal-extracting enterprises in the Kuzbass is critical. There are no funds not only for wages. There is nothing for the upkeep of kindergartens or the repair of young pioneer camps, which are to receive children for vacations in two months' time. Owing to a lack of funds for upkeep, one kindergarten in Prokopyevsk has already reduced the number of serving personnel and cut out some children. Miners' wives in Mezhdurechensk have put an ultimatum to the strike committee: If their husbands are not allowed to begin work within three days, they will take over the strike committee premises and declare a hunger strike there.

If the situation is so critical, why not, in fact, get down to work and seek to have their demands fulfilled in another, primarily constitutional way? I put this question to Vladimir Miller, chairman of the Volkov Mine Strike Committee, who, incidentally, is the mine director's brother.

"The miners have a very developed sense of solidarity," he said. "How can we work if all the neighboring mines are idle? Everything depends on the city strike committee's decision. If it decides on a return to work, we will begin extracting coal the next day."

A session of the city strike committee was scheduled for 1630 hrs. I attended it. Kemerovo City Soviet Executive Committee had provided the strike committee with a special room on the ground floor. About 10 people had gathered there. It was they who were to decide the question of whether or not to continue the strike. The session was held up because Ye. Lyakin, chairman of the strike committee, was late. While waiting for him, one of the strike committee members, who had just returned from Barnaul, spoke of the political situation in the Altay.

"It is quite remote there," he said. "No one knows anything about our strike, and people believe what the newspapers write."

And the strike committee member began describing how he enlightened the Altay inhabitants who understand nothing about political struggle. He said that he addressed several rallies and won over quite a lot of people.

I listened to him and thought: The political strike has become a game of chance for this man. He has really gotten into the role and can no longer live without it. He needs a permanent stage and a permanent audience. He is totally unconcerned at the fact that hundreds of thousands of people are left without the means to exist and that children are being thrown out of kindergartens because there is nothing for them to eat there. I realized that I would not hear a single constructive suggestion at that meeting, and so I left without waiting for the strike committee chairman. In the morning I read in the newspapers: The conference adopted a decision to extend the miners' strike and urged all Kemerovo labor collectives to declare a general political strike.

I saw most clearly of all the extent to which passions muffle the voice of reason in Leninsk-Kuznetsk. After the strikes in that city in the summer of 1989 it was decided to construct for the miners a hospital complex meeting the most modern medical requirements. A Yugoslav firm was selected as the contractor, and it pledged to design the complex and fit it out with modern equipment. Settlement was to be made in coal.

They began work last year. It is being carried out right on schedule. The hospital, unequaled not only in the Kuzbass but also throughout West Siberia, is to receive its first patients next year. But the strike has brought the project to the verge of collapse. The miners cannot settle up with the firm because they have no coal.

"Dispatch at least 60,000 tonnes," construction workers entreated members of the strike committee. "Otherwise the Yugoslavs will leave Leninsk-Kuznetsk, and the hospital complex will turn from a clinic for you and your children into a monument to mismanagement."

"Do you know what it means to dispatch 60,000 tonnes of coal for export?" S. Skorodelov, chairman of the city strike committee, asked the construction workers. "For this it is necessary to get three mines working—which means the end of the strike."

Having exhausted all the arguments, the construction workers left empty-handed.

"Will you really tear up a contract with a foreign firm and bury the very idea of a hospital complex, for which miners have such a great need and on which so much has already been spent?" I asked.

"We cannot dispatch coal from Leninsk-Kuznetsk," S. Skorodelov replied. "We will try to reach agreement with the mines that are working."

The strike has led miners into an impasse. On talking with them you see that they are victims of a political game. More and more miners are beginning to realize this. But the strike committees cannot now stop the strike unless they get something in exchange. For otherwise they would be unable to explain to anyone why a long, exhausting struggle was waged.

Everything must be done to stop the protracted strike without delay. It would probably be sufficient if the Russian leadership were to address the miners. But it can already be seen that it does not wish to do this.

B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, flew into the Kuzbass 29 April. Great hopes were pinned on this visit. Many people associated it with the end of the strike. For the head of the Russian leadership had only to thank the miners for their support and ask them to return to work, and the strike would have been over. All the more so as, following the statement of the 10, which was also signed by B.N. Yeltsin, the strikers' political demands are falling away of their own accord.

However, Yeltsin told miners on arriving at Novokuznetsk Airport: I have not come to try to persuade you to end the strike but to find an acceptable solution together with you. The strike must end on its own account, not by order.

In the city sociopolitical center in the evening he met with representatives of the councils of workers committees and striking mines. The meeting was also addressed by Deputy Russian Premier Yu. Skokov. They mainly discussed the transfer of Kuzbass enterprises, and mines above all, to Russia's jurisdiction.

Right after the meeting there was a conference of leaders of strike committees. There it was decided to continue the strike until the Kuzbass coal enterprises pass to Russian subordination.

Meanwhile more and more reports of the catastrophic economic situation in the mining cities are coming in. There is no longer anything to pay the wages of physicians and teachers in Berezovsk. The question of closing a kindergarten is being resolved in Topki. But politicians evidently have different concerns.

On 30 April B.N. Yeltsin met with Prokopyevsk and Kiselevsk miners and West Siberian metallurgists. But there too there was not a single word about ending the strike without delay.

Hunger Threshold Reported at 199.92 Rubles

LD0105132491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0800 GMT 1 May 91

[Summary] According to research by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the minimum amount of money needed to stay above the hunger line is now 199 rubles, 92 kopecks. This is what the average Soviet citizen spends monthly on his essential food ration. About equal that amount is needed to buy other things.

Text of Accord Between Trade Unions, Cabinet

914F0200A Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

[Agreement signed by Prime Minister V. Pavlov and GCTU Chairman V. Shcherbakov on 20 April: "AGREEMENT Between the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the Council of the USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions on Labor and Socioeconomic Issues for 1991"]

[Text] The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the Council of the USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions [GCTU]:

being aware of their roles and responsibilities for securing normalization of the national economy and reducing social tension in our society;
believing that it is necessary to ensure cooperation which is as constructive as possible in accomplishing the tasks facing the national economy and society;
have reached the present agreement aimed at stabilizing the economy and the sociopolitical situation in the country, reinforcing the social protection of workers, and preventing a drop in the people's standard of living and other possible negative consequences of switching to a market economy. With this in view, the parties have agreed to focus their cooperation primarily on the following avenues.

On Guarantees for the Social Protection of the Populace

1. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, in cooperation with the governments of the republics, will ensure in 1991 the allocation of 47.6 billion rubles [R] from various sources of financing for social support of the population in the environment of switching to a market economy, in addition to the funds used in 1990. The above funds will be used primarily for aid to the socially vulnerable strata of the population—children, parents of many children, single-parent households, the handicapped, retirees, and other low-income categories of citizens.

2. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will prepare, as a basis for the implementation of a purposeful social policy, and will submit to the USSR president in April 1991, the draft ukase "On General Principles of Structuring Minimal Consumer Budgets" which will provide for a unified approach to determining the subsistence level. The republics will independently determine the composition of the subsistence-level consumer basket on the basis of the general approach, and will establish forms to ensure this level.

Upon the issuance of the ukase, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will submit proposals, which will have been coordinated with the republics, for increasing in stages the minimum levels of wages, retirement benefits, scholarships, allowances, and other social payments set at the Union level, taking into account the minimum consumer budget (the subsistence minimum).

3. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will complete in the third quarter of 1991 preparation of proposals for a reform in remunerations for labor in the environment of switching to a market economy, with provisions in it for giving all enterprises extensive independence with regard to the issues of remuneration for labor (including a repeal of upper limits), while simultaneously providing state guarantees of the minimum wage.

4. The USSR Council of Ministers will envisage, effective 1991, substantial increases of wages in stages, primarily of the wages of workers in basic sectors of the national economy, tied to the results of their labor, with a view toward removing restrictions on the growth of funds allocated for consumption.

In April 1991, negotiations will begin on concluding industry-wide pay scale agreements for 1992, the objective being to end this work with regard to the basic sectors in the first half of 1991.

5. Taking into account the proposals of the USSR GCTU Council in conjunction with a one-time increase of retail prices, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will:

resolve in April 1991 to increase the amount of compensation for workers who are employed in subsurface and strip-mining operations in the metallurgical and other industries of the national economy;
establish within one month procedures for offsetting increases in the cost of meals in the canteens, cafeterias, and preventive treatment facilities of state enterprises, and resolve together with the republics the issue of allocating additional funds for subsidizing preferentially priced meals for college students, students in secondary vocational schools, technical trade schools, and general-education schools.

6. In cooperation with the governments of the republics, and taking into account the proposals of the USSR

GCTU Council, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will do the following in April and May 1991 in conjunction with the one-time price increase in the country:

—set forth procedures for replenishing the lacking monies of the USSR Social Security Fund which are allocated to pay temporary disability benefits, maternity and delivery benefits, as well as for meals for children in health-maintenance camps and for offsetting outlays due to higher prices for vouchers to the sanatoriums and resort facilities of the trade unions;
—establish contributions to the USSR Social Security Fund amounting to R30.2 billion, and based on the results of the year, revise the Social Security Fund based on the wages actually paid;
—determine compensation procedures for the employees of cultural, educational, and mass physical-education and athletic facilities not affiliated with schools which the trade unions own or use;
—establish compensation for mothers taking leave to attend to babies under 1.5 years of age.

7. Taking into account the proposals of the USSR GCTU Council, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will develop and submit, through established procedures, the draft Basic Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on Indexing the Incomes of the Populace to the USSR Supreme Soviet in April 1991.

The following principles will provide the basis for developing this draft:

—monetary incomes in the form of wages, retirement benefits, scholarships, and allowances are subject to indexing;
—the size of the minimum monetary compensation is determined taking into account the minimum consumer budget calculated for the region in question.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will review the issue of setting up an independent price registration service with the participation of the USSR GCTU Council.

8. Taking into account the proposals made by the USSR GCTU Council, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will specify within one month procedures for the issuance of funds to enterprises in 1991 in order to meet priority social and health-maintenance needs of the working people, with a view to lifting a number of existing restrictions.

9. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will, through established procedures, propose to exclude funds received in the form of preferentially-priced vouchers for treatment, recreation, and reductions in the cost of meals (in the canteens and cafeterias) of enterprises, fees for commuting to and from the place of employment, and some other social preferences, from the amounts on which personal income tax is levied.

10. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will prepare in April 1991 proposals for abolishing collection of the five percent tax on the sale of staple goods and services which are included in the minimum consumer basket.

11. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will consider, in cooperation with the governments of the republics, the issue of exempting areas used for sanatorium facilities, boarding hotels, recreation facilities, and health-maintenance establishments for children from the payment of land fees.

The USSR GCTU Council undertakes to work on this issue with competent republic trade union organs.

12. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, in cooperation with the governments of the republics, and taking into account the opinion of the USSR GCTU Council, will develop proposals aimed at ensuring state guarantees for the constitutional right of citizens to housing, with a view to incorporating these proposals into an integral system of measures which is being prepared to resolve the housing issue in the country.

13. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, in cooperation with the governments of the republics:

will set forth procedures for the payment of preferential transit fares by college and school students;
will consider proposals by the USSR GCTU Council concerning the affiliation and financing of the facilities of the sociocultural sphere which appear on the balance sheets of enterprises and trade unions;
will set forth procedures for reimbursing enterprises for outlays entailed by the conversion of production facilities, which will primarily be allocated for maintaining social, cultural, and service facilities, as well as implementing measures aimed at the social protection of working people and envisaged in USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 791, dated 8 August 1990.

On Ensuring the Employment of the Populace

14. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, in coordination with the governments of the republics, will ensure the implementation of the state policy of promoting active employment and preventing unemployment.

To this end, it is envisaged:

—to develop and confirm in May 1991 the State All-Union Program for Ensuring the Employment of the Populace which will provide for measures aimed at the state regulation of job creation by giving tax and credit preferences to enterprises, regardless of their form of ownership, which create conditions for the professional retraining of released cadres and for drawing them into the sphere of social production;
—to determine in the first half of 1991 the regions and branches in which mass layoffs of the working people are possible, and the priority development territories with an eye to taking specific measures to ensure employment;
—to set up in the first half of 1991 the State Employment Promotion Fund to support regions and branches in which the need for state subsidies to this end is particularly urgent;
—to set up in the first half of 1991 the Coordination Committee for Employment Promotion which will

include representatives of the organs of state government, trade unions, and associations (unions) of enterprise managers and entrepreneurs.

The USSR GCTU Council will work toward the timely execution of the provisions of the Basic Legislation of the USSR and the Republics "On the Employment of the Populace" with republic, regional, branch, and other organs of the trade unions as appropriate.

On Reinforcing Economic Protection for the Employees of Health care, Education, Culture, and Sports in the Environment of Market Relations

15. With a view to retaining the cadres of health care, education, and culture and creating worthy conditions for their activities and life, thus meeting the growing needs of our society, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, in cooperation with the governments of the republics:

will take measures to introduce new levels of wages and position salaries, continuing in the future to consistently bring remunerations for the labor of employees in the above industries closer to wage levels in the production sectors of the national economy;
will develop and submit proposals for allocating funds to the trade union budgets for increasing the wages of employees of cultural, educational, non-school, and mass physical-culture and sports establishments which the trade unions own or use.

16. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will ensure that R9.1 billion is allocated in 1991 from the Union budget for the development of health care, physical culture, education, culture, and arts (in addition to the funding provided by the republics and local organs).

If prices and tariffs for products and services used by the establishments of the above sectors increase, standard monetary outlays for maintaining them will be revised simultaneously.

17. With a view to ensuring the due legal protection of establishments of health care, education, culture, and sports, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will develop, and submit through proper procedures in the third quarter of 1991, the draft law "On Non-Commercial Organizations in the USSR."

18. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will develop with the participation of the USSR GCTU Council, and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet in the third quarter of 1991 through established procedures, the draft Basic Legislation of the USSR "On Protecting the Health of the People" which will guarantee free, generally accessible, and skilled medical care for all members of society.

19. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers:

will ensure the development and implementation of target all-Union programs for protecting the health of the populace, primarily socially significant programs, such as "Cardiovascular Diseases," "AIDS," "Tuberculosis," "Disability Prevention," as well as other previously adopted all-Union programs for protecting the health of women and children;
will consider the issue of increasing the volume of financing for health care, including the allocation of additional hard currency funding for purchasing medicinal preparations and medical equipment abroad, based on the results of the implementation of the state budget, and of fulfilling the State Plan for the USSR Spheres of Jurisdiction for the first half of 1991;
will maintain the level of current prices for drugs and medical products in the environment of switching to a market economy, establishing at the same time sources of subsidies to cover the losses of the pharmaceutical network.

20. Within the confines of its jurisdiction, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will review, and make the appropriate decisions:

on exempting non-commercial, cultural and educational, non-school, athletic, sanatorium-and-resort, tourist, and health-maintenance establishments owned or used by the trade unions from taxes and fees paid to the budget;
on preferential terms for taxing the profits of construction and assembly organizations generated by operating in rural areas to erect housing and social, cultural, communal, and service facilities.

21. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will take measures to improve occupational safety and ecology with the participation of the USSR GCTU Council. To this end, it is envisaged to develop and adopt:

the concept of the State Program for Improving Occupational Safety in the National Economy which sets forth economic, financial, organizational, and legal means to ensure strict compliance with occupational safety norms and rules by all enterprises, regardless of the form of ownership;
new norms for the highest permissible loads for women in manually lifting and moving weights which will be reduced by a factor of approximately 1.5, as well as a list of production facilities, professions, and types of work with harmful or difficult conditions for labor in which women shall not be employed;
a program for scientific research in the area of occupational safety which will be all-Union in scope, and assign sources of financing for it.

22. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will consider in the first half of 1991 proposals for, and will grant tax relief for the profits of enterprises generated by developing and manufacturing products for the creation of safe conditions for labor at production facilities, and for environmental protection.

23. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will submit to the USSR supreme Soviet, through established procedures, proposals for ratifying the International Labor Organization Convention No. 155 "On Safety, Occupational Hygiene, and Production Environment."

On Developing the Social Sphere in the Countryside

24. In cooperation with the governments of the republics, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will:

develop and adopt in the first half of 1991 the State Program for providing gas and electricity to villages and for furnishing autonomous amenity systems and equipment for rural houses which will be aimed at fundamentally changing working and living conditions for the rural populace;
envisage an increase in the market stock of construction materials by a factor of at least 1.5 to build up peasant farmsteads, and erect residential buildings and farm structures;
ensure the priority allocation of technical equipment for the production of local construction materials in rural areas, which is distributed in a centralized manner;
develop in the first half of the year a system of organizational and economic measures promoting the referral of resettlers from other regions, cities, and industrial centers, as well as servicemen released to the reserves, to rural areas experiencing a labor shortage, tapping the funds of the areas in which they settle.

On Protecting the Populace Against the Impact of the Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster

25. In cooperation with the governments of the republics, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will ensure:

financing for the target program for eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear power station] accident amounting to R10.3 billion;
the accomplishment of the tasks envisaged by the State Union and Republic Program for Urgent Measures To Eliminate the Consequences of the Chernobyl AES Disaster for 1990-1992, as well as the State Union and Republic Program for Protecting the Health of Children Against the Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster in 1991-1995;
the implementation of measures to reinforce the protection of the health and social welfare of the populace residing in the territories affected by radioactive contamination as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, as well as those of participants in the cleanup;
the allocation of centralized state capital investments, financed from the central budget and earmarked for the construction of trade-union sanatoriums, resorts, and health-maintenance facilities for maintaining the health of the population affected by the accident at the Chernobyl AES, directly to the USSR GCTU Council in 1992;
the development of proposals for financing in 1991 the sanatorium and resort treatment of individuals affected by the accident;
the priority allocation of treatment and diagnostic equipment, medicines, and foodstuffs from all-Union stocks, according to established norms and at state prices, to sanatoriums, resorts, and health-maintenance facilities whose specialty is to treat and maintain the health of those affected by the accident at the Chernobyl AES;
information to the populace about the disbursement of funds from Account No. 904 of the "Foundation for Assisting in the Elimination of the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES."

26. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, in cooperation with the governments of the republics and with the participation of the USSR GCTU Council, will:

complete in the first half of 1991 the development of proposals for creating in the country a unified health-maintenance system for those affected by the Chernobyl disaster, based on a scientifically substantiated concept of the residence of the populace in areas affected by the accident at the Chernobyl AES, and ensure funding for health-maintenance expenditures from the funds of the all-Union budget;
develop proposals for economic incentives to manufacture and deliver to the affected areas special foodstuffs, medical equipment, and drugs, as well as the construction of sanatorium and resort establishments, housing, and social service facilities for those affected by the accident.

27. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers will develop and adopt the State Program for Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of the USSR Natural Resources.

* * *

The Cabinet of Ministers and the USSR GCTU Council will set up a commission to monitor the execution of the present agreement and to resolve all issues which arise in the course of its implementation. The parties have agreed that the commission will be headed by two cochairmen at the level of deputy USSR prime minister and deputy chairman of the USSR GCTU.

The parties have undertaken to create necessary conditions for the execution of the obligations assumed.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers has undertaken to inform the USSR GCTU Council in a timely manner about possible objective changes in the socio-economic situation in the country and their consequences for the execution of the present agreement. In these cases, the parties will work out coordinated decisions to refine individual provisions of the agreement.

The USSR GCTU Council will cooperate with the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and other organs managing the national economy in executing the present agreement. Provided that the present agreement is complied with, the USSR GCTU Council will refrain from organizing strikes on the issues covered by the agreement, as well as strikes which interfere with its implementation.

Either of the parties signing the agreement is entitled to propose amendments and additions to the agreement which do not obstruct the meeting of obligations already assumed by the parties. These proposals may only be adopted by mutual agreement of the parties.

Such agreements remain in effect until new ones are concluded in the event state and economic management organs are reorganized, and concerns, associations, and other voluntary conglomerates are created on this basis.

The results of and progress in implementing the agreement are covered in the newspaper TRUD, the weekly PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK, and other mass media.

Other trade unions of the country which do not belong to the GCTU may also join the present agreement between the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the Council of the USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions.

The present Agreement takes effect on the date of its signing by the contracting parties and applies during 1991.

The present agreement was signed by the parties on 20 April 1991

[Signed] USSR Prime Minister V. Pavlov
USSR GCTU Chairman V. Shcherbakov

Scientific

Report Alleges Chernobyl Design Flaws, Cover-Up

PM2504114691 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 25 Apr 91 p 9

[Roger Highfield report: "Report Exposes Soviet 'Lies' About Chernobyl"]

[Text] The Soviet Union lied about the cause of the world's worst nuclear accident and made scapegoats of the operators of the Chernobyl RBMK [high-power pressure tube] reactor.

The reactor's design was to blame and 16 operational RBMK reactors may still pose a danger, secret documents reveal today, on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the accident that sent a plume of radiation worldwide that may claim up to 40,000 lives.

"In spite of the measures taken, the atomic power stations equipped with RBMKs fail, to a significant degree, to meet present safety requirements," says the document from the All Union Scientific/Technical Society of Power and Electrical Engineers, which has been obtained by Thames Television's This Week programme.

Although published on Nov 30, 1989, when modifications to the remaining RBMKs were still under way, the document shows the Russians were concerned by the slow progress made in carrying them out.

Another document shows more than the fair share of blame was placed on the operators of Chernobyl, rather than the design, corroborating the claims of a reactor deputy engineer who was released from jail recently after a pardon.

Evidence has been growing that the Chernobyl 4 operators were fatally unaware of the rules they are supposed to have broken when they carried out an experiment on the night of the accident, in the small hours of April 26, 1986.

The cover-up is supported by a secret report, sent last February by the State Atomic Energy Supervisory committee to the Supreme Soviet and the ministry responsible for all nuclear installations in the Soviet Union, the KGB-controlled Ministry of Medium Engineering.

Statements on the accident made at an international conference in the wake of the accident "do not correspond to reality," it says.

"Four years after the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station a large number of specialists continue to be troubled by questions connected with the availability of objective information concerning the nature of the events which took place."

The misleading statements were made to the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency, the world's nuclear watchdog, at the first major conference on the accident in 1986.

They concerned the limits placed on the Chernobyl power levels and how the reactor was operated by control rods, crucial to the Soviet explanation of the accident given in Vienna.

They had an extremely negative effect on the chances of establishing the true causes of the accident, on the research being carried out in this connection and on the development of scientifically justified steps towards the enhancement of the safety of RBMK reactors."

It says that "design and construction" of Chernobyl 4 "blatantly contravened the requirements of the Rules for Nuclear Safety."

The report, which lists 32 design flaws of the RBMK, justifies "the views that the accident was a manifestation of the design faults of the RBMK reactor as it was on the April 26."

Tonight's television programme also shows the difficulty experienced by the Soviet Union in coping with the huge amount of nuclear waste generated by the clean up operation and problems with other nuclear installations in the Soviet Union.

Further on Design Flaws

PM3004113391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 91 p 1

[Report signed by Yu. Voronezhtsev, USSR people's deputy and responsible secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Investigating the Causes of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station and Assessing the Actions of Officials in the Post-Disaster Period; Doctor of Technical Sciences B. Dubovskiy; and

Candidate of Technical Sciences K. Karikh on "the initial results of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Investigating the Causes of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station and Assessing the Actions of Officials in the Post-Disaster Period," date not given: "Five Years Since the Star Called Wormwood (literal meaning of "Chernobyl") Fell"]

[Text] The specially selected departmental scientific experts were wrong to heap the entire responsibility for the accident on the personnel. It was representatives of the principal culprits in the accident who were appointed as "judges," and they "out of modesty" kept silent about their own mistakes.

If there had been an effectively operating accident shield in the reactor, all the mistakes made by the personnel would have led only to a week's shutdown—with no explosion.

If there had been even a hint of the danger of an explosion in the standard technical documents, the control operator would have engaged the lower neutron absorbers five seconds before activating the accident shield—and the explosion would have been averted.

It is unfair to expect greater competence in understanding the physical fundamentals of the shield's design from the operating personnel than from the development's "ideologists." And the project designers graphically demonstrated their low level of competence to the entire world in the Report to the International Atomic Energy Agency back in August 1986, in which they put forward a number of incorrect claims.

Unfortunately, the USSR Academy of Sciences is in effect contributing to this by its nonintervention and silence. Despite the fact that Academy members have played a very leading part both in designing "accident" protection for reactors and in elaborating measures to localize the consequences of serious accidents.

The wrong time was chosen for conducting a dangerous experiment. Tragically, the accident shield button was pressed without prior engagement of the shield's neutron absorbers in the lower part of the reactor's active zone. The accident shield was ineffective and the design of the control system was faulty. Extremely important aspects of neutron physics were almost entirely omitted in the main standard technical documents. These were the basic causes of the disaster.

The Academy of Sciences should make an honest declaration to the effect that the Chernobyl accident happened as a result of the cumulative effect of a series of mistaken technical decisions that are hard to explain. Their authors were the scientists in charge of the high-power pressure-tube reactor project.

Baltic Republics

Baltic Republics Hold May Day Rallies

LD0105152791 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 1 TASS—Representatives from several hundred Riga enterprises gathered on the Daugava Embankment for a rally organised by the Latvian Communist Party. A resolution adopted by the rally deals with the social protection of the population.

Demonstrators demanded that the republican parliament put again the victory holiday, marked on May 9, on the list of red-letter days in the republic.

The Lithuanian parliament also struck out the May Day holiday from the list of republican holidays late last year. Factories were only given the right to declare this day an off-day, provided they work, instead, the next Saturday or other off-day.

A relatively small number of Vilnius residents (about 2,000 or 3,000) and representatives from other cities and districts of the republic gathered for a festive rally held in front of the Lenin Monument in the city's central square.

Lithuanian Communist Party Leader Mikolas Burokiavicius congratulated rally participants on the occasion of May Day.

He as well as other speakers called for unity with the Soviet Union and for struggle "for the restoration of democracy, legality and social justice". They heavily censured the policy pursued by the republican parliament and government.

"No to Ethnic Hatred", "Yes to Union Treaty" and other posters were borne by participants in a May Day rally in Tallinn, capital of Estonia.

The cold weather and drizzling rain did not dampen the spirits of those who came to the Vabaduze Square where the rally was held.

Speakers called for unity, ethnic peace and domestic and international solidarity, which are so needed now by the Estonian people.

The present May Day in Estonia is put for the first time on the list of official republican holidays. A decision by the Estonian parliament on state holidays says that May Day is a holiday of labour.

2-3,000 Celebrate in Tallinn

LD0105164391 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1400 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] The working people's day of solidarity was celebrated in Tallinn today. By 1000 about 2-3,000 people had gathered at Vabaduze [Freedom] Square. After a 10-minute rally a procession went to the Lenin monument where representatives of several major Tallinn factories and the town's Communist Youth League made speeches.

Three Different Riga Meetings Held

LD0105153991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Three May Day meetings were held one after the other in Riga. They demonstrated the polarization of political forces. The Riga City committee of the Latvian Communist Party invited its supporters to attend a meeting on the Daugava Embankment. The Democratic Labor Party held its meeting in one of Riga's districts, by the memorial to the revolutionaries of 1905. Supporters of the Social Democratic Party gathered in the city center, by the Rainis memorial. They regard themselves as the heirs to the ideas of Rainis and the traditions of the Latvian workers' movement. Tomorrow will be a working day in Latvia by a decision issued by the Republic's Supreme Soviet.

Rubiks Addresses Latvian Rally

LD0105142291 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0900 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] A meeting dedicated to a festival that doesn't exist in Latvia, the day of international solidarity of working people, has taken place at Daugavmala. Riga people (?associated with) the Interfront, party workers led by Alfreds Petrovich Rubiks, soldiers of the Baltic Military District with a brass band, as well as paratroopers, and an integral part of anything organised by Rubiks' party—special militia troops, were present.

You ask what they talked about at the meeting? Well, of course, the same thing as always. And also Comrade Rubiks reproached the legislature for depriving the working people of the most brilliant and beautiful festival of the spring—the day of international solidarity of working people—but we will celebrate it nonetheless, it being a festival of labor, Comrade Rubiks said. He recalled how [word indistinct] and joyfully full of the (?power) of labor the working people were on 1 May 1985, the year Mikhail Gorbachev brought perestroyka to life. As for the visual aspect of the meeting: all the speakers stood on the platforms of military vehicles, (?surrounded) by red and (?dark red) flags, as museum [word indistinct] have long had. There were also placards and (?transparencies); the texts were of course (?the same); only one seemed indeed not to have been seen. Minister Raimonds Rauls was castigated for having deprived the poor working people of the Pioneers' Palace, which had been refitted—goodness knows why—as Riga Castle. The slogans, too, were the same old ones: "Long live the Union treaty," "Long live the USSR", and "Long live the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic".

As we already said, peace was preserved at this meeting by the special militia troops, naturally armed with automatic weapon, but as well as the automatic weapons, each of them had in his hand a little white narcissus. This time it looked quite comical.

Lithuanian Rally Reported

LD0105132291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0905 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] At 1000 today the leaders of the CPSU in Lithuania—who are well known to us, although not welcome nor pleasant—and their henchmen appeared in Lukiskes Square. Of course, on an occasion such as this, how could one do without home-grown and imported valiant generals?

All these communists and military leaders accompanied by their loyal retinue proceeded to the Lenin Monument. Military, labor, and underground veterans, faithful followers of the cause of Lenin, shock-workers of communist labor, enterprise managers of all-union subordination, as well as simple internationalists and defenders of Soviet power had already gathered in the square. There were militia support guys wearing red ribbons on their sleeves, KGB officers and ensigns in plain clothes, soldiers of the USSR Interior Ministry troops under the command of Stancikas, and armed special militia servicemen. The square was surrounded on all sides by the famous Soviet paratroopers adorned with camouflage capes and bullet-proof vests, and pointing their submachine guns. Vilnius experienced the might and cruelty of these troops on 13 January. Hundreds of soldiers and officers of the Interior Ministry troops and students of the Higher Military School stood on the sidewalks.

There were many speakers at the meeting. Besides Burokevicius and Shved, there were other orators who still remain anonymous: an officer from the Vilnius military garrison, a woman worker from the Neringa amalgamation, a representative of farmers of the Dzukija and Vilnius regions, the leader of the Vilnius City Committee for the Protection of Citizens' Rights, and others speechified, moaned, threatened and insulted the government and the parliament at the microphone.

A resolution which was adopted by the participants of the meeting was rather unfestive: it included economic and social ultimatums.

Following this, at the invitation of one of the CPSU people they proceeded to the Chernyakhovskiy monument along Gediminas Prospekt in not very numerous and not very harmonious lines.

Squad Protects Vilnius Rally

LD0105223891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Belorussian 1920 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] In Vilnius today in what used to be Lenin square near the monument to the leader, a populous May Day demonstration organized by the Communist Party of Lithuania, Yedinstvo, and other pro-Soviet organizations, took place. According to the parliament, the workers' squad [rabochaya druzhina] which was in the square was given 100 rubber batons and the same number of protective vests. I just wonder who they were defending the demonstrators from? Today Vladislav Shved, famous Communist activist, people's deputy at the demonstration, stated that the declaration of independence on 11 March 1990 has not given anything to Lithuania. As if the respected Comrade Vladislav Shved did not understand that declaring independence, which the Lithuanian communist party is actively trying to prevent, is not yet independence. We will also remind our listeners that, despite the economic, military, political and other sanctions by the Kremlin, the material standard of living among the Lithuanian population is even today considerably higher than in the USSR which comrade Vladislsv Shved is so eagerly striving to unite us with.

Vilnius Protests Antiworker Policy

LD0105151691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] In Vilnius, May Day was left off the list of holidays endorsed at the end of last year by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. Only at the last minute did left-wingers in the legislature propose calling for May Day to be declared a holiday. However, the legislature decided to only allow work forces to treat this day as a non-work day, provided they make up for it by sacrificing a normal day off.

Several thousand citizens of Vilnius and representatives of other towns and districts in the republic attended a festive meeting in the Lithuanian capital. A resolution was adopted in which a strong protest was made against the discriminatory, antiworker policy of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and government. The document contains a demand for the disintegration of the economy to be halted and for the creation of a state system to provide protection against the consequences of unemployment.

Baltics Raise Defense Issues for Discussion

PM0105155691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 May 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Riga correspondent I. Litvinova, plus V. Litovkin report on interview with Major General A. Litvinov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Directorate for Liaison With State Organs of Power and Administrations of the USSR and the Union Republics: "The Baltic and the Defense Ministry: Questions To Discuss"]

[Text] The Latvian Supreme Soviet Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs has approved recommendations for talks with the USSR on military questions.

Juris Dobelis, deputy chairman of the commission, said that the recommendations were prepared jointly by

Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Each republic is independently drawing up detailed drafts.

What do the deputies of the Baltic republics' Supreme Soviets recommend for discussion at talks on military questions? The presence of USSR troops on the republics' territory is deemed to be a "politically and economically destabilizing factor," and they should be withdrawn from the territory of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The general principles of the Baltic republics' security provide for the creation of national defense formations.

The recommendations stipulate the main principles governing the status of USSR troops on the territory of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. It is stressed that it is a question of the "short-term presence of a limited contingent of USSR troops." Until its complete withdrawal, the contingent should, according to the Baltic deputies' scenario, be stationed at military bases. All expenditure associated with maintaining it will be taken on by the USSR. Servicemen and their families should be subject to the jurisdiction of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

A special section includes additional topics which the parliamentarians of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia are preparing to raise at the talks on military questions. For instance, the USSR will have to repay in full "damage sustained in connection with the activity of the Red Army." The authors of the recommendations propose that all expenditure incurred by Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia on maintaining USSR troops since 1940 should be repaid in proportion to the Baltic republics' contribution to the USSR economy. In the deputies' view, the USSR should hand over cartographic, geodesic, and geological documentation, military archive materials, museum relics, and military history relics to the Baltic republics, for no payment. [Litvinova ends]

[V. Litovkin report] The editorial office asked Major General A. Litvinov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Directorate for Liaison With State Organs of Power and Administrations of the USSR and the Union Republics, to comment on this report by our permanent correspondent in Riga.

"I will begin," Aleksandr Aleksandrovich said, "by saying that the Defense Ministry is prepared to discuss all questions with the republics' leadership and resolve them in a constructive spirit. As for the specific problems mentioned by Latvian Supreme Soviet member J. Dobelis, I think they are somewhat premature.

"Both de jure and de facto, all three Baltic republics still form part of the USSR—no one has yet repealed or revised the country's Constitution or its borders. So it is, in my view, premature to talk about the status of USSR troops on the territory of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. In politics it is absurd to live for today, and impatience is a poor counselor.

"As for 'expenditure associated with maintaining the troops,' which the USSR is to take upon itself, that, if you will forgive my saying so, is an empty phrase. The Soviet Government has always borne the expense of maintaining the Armed Forces, wherever they may be deployed, and it still does. Provision is made for this expenditure in the Union budget, in the section dealing with defense needs. So there are no unclear issues here.

"Nor are there any unclear issues as regards the status of servicemen and their families as subject to the republics' jurisdiction. All questions relating to the servicemen's life, with the exception of purely military matters, are resolved on the basis of statewide laws and, of course, on the basis of the republics' laws. Incidentally, this last point is one reason for the flouting of the interests of servicemen and their families in the Baltic republics.

"Now for the purely military aspect of the problem. The USSR Armed Forces defend the interests of the entire country, of all the republics. Our garrisons are located where they are required, on the basis of the strategic and operational-tactical laws of defense. To 'break up' and revise defensive structures today is extremely dangerous to the country's defense capability, especially since during these days the withdrawal of our troops from Europe is in full swing.

"Incidentally, even in what is a rather difficult situation for the Army, the Defense Ministry, taking into account the situation in the Baltic, has not stationed on the territory of those republics a single one of the units being withdrawn from Europe. On the contrary, we are only carrying out reductions there.

"And I would like to say one last thing. The Baltic leaders have declared that after secession from the Union they want to sign a friendship and cooperation treaty with us. In my view friendship and cooperation exclude the language of high-handedness, ultimatums, and selfish disregard for the other side's interests...."

Estonian Minister Outlines 'Tallinn Process'

LD0105133191 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Interview of Estonian Justice Minister Juri Raidla by unidentified announcer; place and date not given; live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Estonian Justice Minister Juri Raidla, speaker of the fifth Tallinn meeting of representatives, a new general concept has emerged: The Tallinn process. This is an expression which can now be used quite boldly, isn't it?

[Raidla] Yes, after this fifth meeting this can indeed be boldly used because it will not only be ourselves who use it, but practically all the delegations present. This time we also had new delegations, with Uzbekistan and Georgia present. [passage omitted]

The fourth document is of a local nature within the Tallinn process: it regulates the use of the resources of

Lake Pskov and the necessary maintenance tasks in the use of these resources, to protect the environment. It is a document between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Estonia which was initialled today as a draft and will be signed at a later date. Great interest in this document was displayed by a delegation of the Leningrad City Council. The fifth document is an address—which I referred to and hinted at previously—to republican government leaders, with the aim of meeting within the framework of the Tallinn process to set down at a conference the principles according to which hard-currency issues will be resolved; these are issues which have become republican problems because of the USSR hard-currency policy. And the sixth document concerns customs cooperation between the three Baltic states. [passage omitted]

Latvia's Government Outlines Economic Tasks

LD0105175791 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0430 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] The leader of the Latvian Government, Ivars Godmanis, has once again specified the current most important tasks of the Latvian Government. To these, Godmanis added: in changing the sovereign status of Latvia, not to allow economic chaos; to create an independent tax system; to create a permanent price reform; to create an independent finance system, giving priority to the introduction of white money; and the creation of privatisation. Godmanis' view is that the government has already successfully carried out the first two tasks. Work has begun and is continuing on fulfilling the next most important tasks.

The leader of the government also denied reports spread in the newspaper ATMODA, concerning extensive plans for collaboration between the Latvian Government and the Latvian branch of the State Security Committee, including bringing this organization under government control. Godmanis said there is no basis for such talk.

Lithuanian Union Group Seeks Government Agreement

LD0105060791 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] A meeting organized by the Lithuanian Independent Trade Union Confederation was held this afternoon in front of the main trade union headquarters, adjacent to the legislative building. Approximately 200 individuals participated [words indistinct]. Approximately the same number of people gathered in opposition to the meeting itself and its demands. A similar situation was true of the speakers, as well. Some defended the interests of the trade union leaders, while others denied any actual role for the current trade unions and spoke in favor of establishing totally new professional association mergers. The general director of the country's defense department, deputy of the legislature, Audrius Butkevicius and deputy chairman of the Lithuanian legislation Kazimieras Motieka, who in a manner characteristic of him, brought the two opposing sides closer together by his speech, were among the speakers at the meeting. The latter admitted, among other things, that the legislature had dragged out the decision concerning the property of the former trade unions, while in solving other questions, the government perhaps had committed some errors. The resolution adopted at the meeting sets forth demands for a stricter balance between the increase in prices and compensation, for an improvement in the system of taxation, and for the government to sign an agreement with the Independent Trade Union Confederation.

Conference Views Implementation of Citizenship Law

PM2604105191 Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 17 Apr 91 p 4

[ELTA report: "To Implement Citizenship Law"]

[Text] A conference was held at Government House 15 April to discuss issues linked with the implementation of the Lithuanian Citizenship Law.

Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vayshvila [name as transliterated], who opened the conference, noted that the first phase of privatization is closely bound with self-determination for Lithuania's residents—to be citizens of the Lithuanian Republic. That is why it is necessary to accelerate the issue of citizens' papers and self-determination papers regarding citizenship, and to create the corresponding conditions for this.

V. Zabarauskas [name as transliterated], deputy minister of internal affairs, familiarized those representatives of the local authorities and passport services who were in attendance with the regulations governing the issue of self-determination papers.

Under these regulations self-determination papers will be issued by workers' groups approved by city and rayon authorities.

Self-determination papers will be issued on the basis of the Lithuanian Citizenship Law adopted 3 November 1989:

1) to persons holding Lithuanian citizenship, to their children and grandchildren, to other persons permanently resident until 15 June 1940 on what is now Lithuanian territory, and to their children and grandchildren permanently resident on Lithuanian territory—upon production of a passport or other supporting documentation;

2) to persons permanently resident in the Lithuanian Republic if they themselves were born on Lithuanian territory or if they can prove that one of their parents or a grandfather or grandmother was born on Lithuanian territory and provided they do not hold any other citizenship—upon production of a passport;

3) to other persons who on the day this law comes into force are permanently resident on the republic's territory

and are in permanent employment here or have a permanent legal source of livelihood here—upon production of supporting documentation: passports, references from work, pensioners' papers, or other documents.

Persons aged 16 and over who have refused to accept the passport and papers of a citizen of the Lithuanian Republic will be offered passport services at their city (rayon) police commissariat. Citizens' papers will also be issued on the same basis as those who refuse a Soviet passport.

The instrument of pledge [obyazatelstvo] entered into by a citizen of the Lithuanian Republic will be an authenticating document for the self-determination papers and will be kept by police commissariat passport services. Persons wishing to acquire state property should, until 11 November this year, bring with them to the auction documents confirming their citizenship, or their self-determination papers.

Zigmas Vayshvila informed the conference participants that printing all the necessary documents had already been completed, and that the workers' groups which have been set up would soon be starting work.

The conference participants also consulted on the question of the organization of privatization at local level.

Spanish Paper Interviews Lithuania's Landsbergis

PM2904123791 Madrid ABC in Spanish 14 Apr 91 p 42

[Interview with Lithuanian President Landsbergis by Jose Grau in Vilnius; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Grau] Could you summarize for me the state of negotiations with Moscow on Lithuania's independence?

[Landsbergis] They are at an initial stage, but one in which the Soviet side is unwilling to call these talks negotiations. Nevertheless, we are laying the foundations for the future dialogue. The terms on which this will be conducted have been agreed. There are some important decisions, such as the statement that the negotiations' aim will be the establishment of relations between the Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union. From this it could be inferred that the USSR recognizes Lithuania as a separate country. On the other hand, we are confronted with the very bad sign that the Soviet side has been unwilling to accept the principle of renunciation of force.

[Grau] Do you believe that Gorbachev has toughened his policy under pressure from the KGB and the army, or do you believe that there is complicity on his part?

[Landsbergis] They are playing the same game. They have clearly been pushing Gorbachev toward Communist orthodoxy throughout the past year, but he has not resisted significantly.

[Grau] In your opinion, what is the reason for Gorbachev's use of force in Lithuania?

[Landsbergis] The application of a policy of ultimatums and force was apparent back in November. In December the threats and some impositions which were intolerable for us were intensified. The paratroopers arrived to force young Lithuanians to perform military service. We then realized that there would be a military coup against Lithuania which would coincide with the start of the war in the Gulf. We appealed both to Moscow and to the Western countries. Nevertheless, nothing stopped that coup. Only our own people stopped it through peaceful and determined action, so that the Soviet authorities could not take their action to its conclusion. Currently there is a respite. It is not a change for the better, because the Soviet Army units have been replaced, and the contingent in Lithuania has even increased. The troops have not yet handed back any of the buildings which they occupied. Moreover, three days ago, the Soviet Army occupied another building—the drivers' school. In the cities they have continued to launch attacks on their own account which take place at any time—for instance, against the Lithuanian police—maintaining in this way an atmosphere of terror and tension. It is clear that they are doing so deliberately. The aggression continues every day round the clock.

[Grau] Do you personally feel harassed?

[Landsbergis] Yes, certainly. On the other hand, this is normal; I do not think about it. This is how we have lived for 50 years.

[Grau] But have you been intimidated recently?

[Landsbergis] Yes. I have received letters containing death threats, although I used to receive more messages of this kind.

Preference for Yeltsin

[Grau] Do you believe that things would improve for Lithuania if Russian President Boris Yeltsin attained power?

[Landsbergis] Yes, certainly. But I do not believe that Yeltsin will attain power throughout the Soviet Union, although it will also be a good thing for us if Yeltsin becomes stronger in Russia.

[Grau] What does Lithuania expect of Spain and the Western countries?

[Landsbergis] I would like to see more support for the rebirth of our democracy and for the destiny chosen by the Lithuanian people, who are rebuilding their state. Lithuania was a member of the family of European countries until 1940, and now, when it wishes to return to this family, it would like to find greater support, greater courage, on the part of the West. Some European countries are adopting a stance of indifference, and

Europe is not maintaining a relationship of active support for the last three victims (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) of World War II. Unfortunately, all this applies to Spain.

[Grau] With the economic blockade imposed by Moscow on Lithuania, the impression was that Lithuania could not survive. How would Lithuania have to orient itself economically to survive?

[Landsbergis] We have already survived.

[Grau] So why did you call for an end to the blockade?

[Landsbergis] We were seeking with the Soviet Union a feasible solution to a stupid situation which was unfavorable for them.

Lithuanian Radio Station Reappears

LD3004161291 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Excerpt] Last week marked the appearance of the new station on the Lithuanian air, or better still (?state) its reappearance because the station (Kaunaradiofonas) has already been broadcasting for several weeks at the end of last year. It stopped broadcasting at the beginning of January after the Soviet military aggression against the Lithuanian radio and television. The station was last heard on the early morning of 13 January, broadcasting emergency appeals in English and several other languages. (Kaunaradiofonas), is now back on the air. Its studio is no longer located at the Sitkune transmitting station. Instead it leases the premises of the former jamming station in Kaunas on the Vytautas hill. The signal [words indistinct] only by cable and then broadcast by 150 kw transmitter on 1107 khz, the time is 2100-2300 hours UTC daily and the language is Lithuanian. [passage indistinct]

The next bit of the latest news concerns the plans of the Vilnius-based broadcaster Radio Centras to go on shortwave. These are only plans; so far no final decision has been made. As you know Radio Centras broadcasts on medium wave and FM only, and exclusively in Lithuanian.

However on 25 May it plans to broadcast a special 60-minute broadcast in English on shortwave. This broadcast will be aimed at DX'ers and radio amateurs. It will include information about broadcasting [words indistinct] Lithuanian ham radio news, items of special interest to DX'ers and a lot of music. If anything goes well the program will be on the air Saturday 25 May somewhere in the time space between 0600 and 0800 hours UTC on 9710 khz. I hope I will be able to give you more detailed information in our next DX programme on 13 May. [passage omitted]

'No Claims' on Lithuanian Radio, TV Buildings

LD0205090291 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 2 May 91

[Text] Skirmantas Valiulis, general director of Lithuanian Television and Radio, reports that a reply has been received from Moscow to his letter concerning news in the press that a branch of the USSR Television and Radio Company would be set up at seized buildings belonging to Lithuania. A reply by one of the heads of this company states that the company has said more than once it has no claims to the property of Lithuanian Radio and Television, and has provided no grounds for such statements in the press. The reply states that the complex situation facing Lithuanian Radio and Television could be solved by an agreement between all the interested parties.

RSFSR

Yeltsin Ends Visit With Striking Miners

Addresses Novokuznetsk Workers

LD0105114291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1007 GMT 1 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Novokuznetsk, Kemerovo Oblast 1 May (TASS)—Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist republic, spoke today at a May Day meeting here after signing, in the presence of 10,000 people, a decision on the transfer of the Kuzbass coal enterprises from all-Union jurisdiction.

"This decision recognizes the demands of the mines and defines our relations," he said, explaining that the decision is "fully endorsed by the strike committee and the leadership of the oblast."

Boris Yeltsin appealed to all the collectives of the coal industry to join in actively carrying through radical economic reform and stabilizing the economy. "As for the strikes, you can decide for yourselves," he added.

It is expected that the head of the Russian legislature will return to Moscow this evening.

Satisfied With Trip, Miners Decision

LD0105152991 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 1 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Novokuznetsk May 1 TASS—President of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin ended his visit to the Kuznetsk coal basin today.

In an interview with TASS on the eve of the departure, Yeltsin expressed satisfaction with the results of the

two-day trip to this industrialised Siberian region. "I have accomplished my task," he stressed.

Yeltsin said that he today signed a decision agreed with miners, the essence of which is the transfer of collieries to Russia's jurisdiction.

"This will entail some social guarantees from the parliament of the Russian Federation, its leaders, etc. We take miners under our protection, as it were. What we promise and guarantee, we shall fulfill," Yeltsin stressed.

Mines To Get 'Economic Independence'

AU0205073491 Paris AFP in English 0005 GMT 2 May 91

[Text] Moscow, May 2 (AFP)—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin on Wednesday [1 May] wound up a visit to strike-hit coalfields in Siberia's Kuzbass basin, while it was announced that the Moscow would ratify an accord to place the mines under Russian jurisdiction.

Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Skokov, quoted by the republic's RIA news agency, said the agreement on the new status for the mines was to be ratified by the Soviet Federal Government on Sunday.

Once ratified, the accord between Moscow and the Russian Federation was expected to lead to an end to the current wave of miners' strikes, which have been aggravating the problems of the Soviet Union's already shaky economy.

Mr. Yeltsin told reporters as he travelled back to Moscow that the Russian Federation would refrain from creating "bureaucratic structures like the Soviet Ministry of the Mining Industry," and would give the mines "total economic independence."

The Russian leader, who attended May Day celebrations on the coalfields, had earlier told the miners that he had not come to call on them to return to work.

"It's your problem, it's our problem," he said. "The problem of Russian leaders is to resolve the economic problems."

The RIA news agency said that Mr. Yeltsin left the Kuzbass basin after a closed-door meeting with the miners' leaders and local government officials.

At the May Day rally, he had signed an agreement allowing for the mines to fall under Russian, rather than central, jurisdiction.

The accord had earlier been negotiated by a joint Soviet-Russian Federation committee headed by Mr. Skokov for the Russian side and Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Vitaliy Doguzhiyev for the central government.

The prospect of a change in the mines' status has already started a return-to-work movement in the coalfields.

Jurisdiction Agreement Signed

LD0205094791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0900 GMT 2 May 91

[Text] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, has ended his visit to the Kuzbass. An agreement with the miners has been signed. The main point of the agreement is the transfer of coal enterprises to Russian jurisdiction.

Towns Celebrate May Day Without 'Former Pomp'

'Modest' Decorations Noted

LD0105222391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 May (TASS)—According to reports from different cities in Russia, the day of international solidarity of working people has been celebrated as a holiday although without the former official pomp. The slogans reflecting the complex social and economic situation in the country have become more specific and militant.

Leningrad, where the first May Day meeting in Russia demanding better working conditions took place, was looking unusual today without the traditional red decorations. With the same demands, workers of Kirovskiy Rayon in Leningrad held their May Day meeting at the place where these events happened a hundred years ago and laid flowers on the memorial. The mass manifestation and protest meeting took place in the Dvortsovaya Ploschad organized by the Leningrad federation of trade unions. The participants voiced a resolute "No" to the rampant price rises, unemployment, lack of social protection and declining standards of living. The opposition movements also held rallies. After that the military units and students from military training establishments solemnly marched down the main streets. Orchestras played in the squares and parks of the city, and entertainers performed.

In Kaliningrad (northwest Russia) there were not many May Day processions and the decorations were rather modest. The demonstrators headed toward 'Baltika' stadium where the trade union leaders and people's deputies delivered addresses. They called for the consolidation of all of society's forces to overcome the social and economic problems. Participating idependently in the May Day celebrations for the first time, representatives of the Democratic and Christian Democratic parties of Russia as well as the local 'Solidarity'—the anarchist organization which is opposed to the CPSU and the democrats—came with their own confronational slogans.

A May Day appeal by Volgograd's trade unions for all social and political forces to rally together in the struggle for social protection did not on this festive day gather people together in united columns. This morning several thousand people took part in a rally and demonstration in Fallen Heroes Square. Speakers demanded that the

central and local authorities take immediate action to stabilize the economy and the sociopolitical situation.

About 200 supporters of Democratic Russia who gathered later in the same square came with the usual slogans for rallies by this organization—namely, "Down With the CPSU, the President, the Government and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR." Expressing their support for Boris Yeltsin the speakers at the same time criticized him for signing the statement of ten.

As usual there was a festive demonstration today in Murmansk, one of the world's major cities and ports beyond the Arctic Circle. The slogans carried demands for the government to raise wages and to resolve the social problems of the northerners which have become extremely acute without delay. Representatives of Democratic Russia held a rally in support of Boris Yeltsin, Russian presidential election candidate.

Inhabitants of Barnaul (southern Siberia), Krasnoyarsk (eastern Siberia), Sverdlovsk (the Urals), Irkutsk (Siberia) and other Russian towns marched in festive columns to protest against the rise in prices and the cost of living, carrying slogans calling for united action by workers' movement.

In the Transcaucasian republics, in a number of areas where the situation remains explosive because of interethnic conflicts and where a destructive earthquake occurred two days ago, May Day festivities are not being held.

Gloom Overshadows Leningrad Celebrations

PM3004105991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 91 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent V. Gerasimov report: "A Century Has Passed; Generations Have Changed"]

[Text] Leningrad—If you look at the calendar, this year's is a special, jubilee May Day holiday for Leningraders. Exactly 100 years ago the workers of Petersburg were the first in Russia to organize to demonstrate for improved living conditions. To commemorate this event, which is separated from us by a whole era, a stela has been set up on the site of the first May Day meeting, by the entrance to the former Putilov Dockyards.

A century has passed. Generations have changed. The country's history has performed such a spiral that it looks like working people will have to start everything from the beginning. At the call of the Leningrad Federation of Trade Unions, they will assemble on Wednesday 1 May for a Palace Square rally with slogans and demands in defense of their rights and freedoms, democratic development, and social guarantees; they will say a decisive "no" to future unemployment, the unchecked growth of prices, the speculation, and the now undisguised attempts to rob and plunge into utter poverty not only the socially unprotected strata of the population but also those by whose hands material assets are created.

Leningrad City Soviet, meanwhile, hoisting its "democratic sails," is preparing yet another murderous "gift" for the majority of the working people—the so-called privatization of housing.

Spring, almost all the Leningraders with whom I have had occasion to meet in recent days say, has not brought people joy and festive feelings. Their lives have essentially shifted to the long waiting lines at half-empty counters. Bewildered by the inexplicable spread of prices for the same products, citizens rush to buy at least something for the table on their ration cards. Sometimes tragicomic collisions occur in the waiting lines.

Here is a picture taken from life. By the counter a customer takes a bundle of newspaper cuttings from his pocket and very carefully checks which of the goods he has obtained today is covered by the notorious five-percent tax. You see, amendments to the list, which has only just been legalized by the government, of goods on which the new tax is levied are made repeatedly by that same government. The kindly storekeeper, who is also completely exhausted, offers advice—this cooperative salami can be bought without ration cards for 17 rubles [R], but make sure you boil it really well, or fry it all over. Why does a bottle of Moldovan cognac cost R89? The answer is that it is a contract price. Who contracted with whom—no one knows. Yet, all the same, despite life's burdens and though they have lost their joie de vivre, people are not losing hope in the ability of society to reach civil consensus and maintain at least some semblance of order. It would be really bad, they say, if this hope, too, is taken away—according to data from sociologists, the citizens' faith in any kind of better future is waning with each passing day. As is trust in the Leningrad City Soviet and its Executive Committee, incidentally. And so, the anxious Leningraders will come onto Palace Square on the first day of May according to the old tradition.

Further Reportage on Silayev's U.S. Visit

IZVESTIYA Report

PM0105094591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[Correspondent A. Shalnyev report: "Ivan Silayev in America"]

[Text] New York—"The Russian Government does not consider it necessary to set up its own embassies abroad, but it will seek agreement on Russian representation in USSR embassies at the rank of minister-counselors." This was stated by Ivan Silayev, head of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government, who completed on Sunday his week-long unofficial visit to the United States at the invitation of the National Association of Governors.

The question of Russian missions abroad was raised at a meeting with American businessmen arranged by the U.S.-Soviet Trade and Economic Council.

The question of how the Russian Government intends to come to grips with the debts accumulated by the Soviet Union, which have become a serious problem, according to one businessman, was also raised at the meeting. "We know," Ivan Silayev stressed, "Russia's share of this debt—it is roughly 55 percent."

"How will you pay it?"

"We will make contributions to the Union Cabinet of Ministers, and it will be paid off."

"I hope it won't go through the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity."

The businessman's comment was drowned in laughter which, it seemed to me, was far from good-natured.

There was a host of meetings with U.S. business repesentatives. As the prime minister said in an interview with journalists, the delegation which he headed "did not set itself the task of concluding specific deals." "But," Silayev stressed, "it has managed to give Americans confidence that cooperation with Russian territories and enterprises is reliable." The delegation, understandably, laid the main stress on prospects for American-Russian business contacts in the Far East region.

Returning to the meeting with businessmen in New York, I would like to note that the calls for cooperation to be developed between the United States and Russia do not mean, as the prime minister made clear, that "you have to abandon everything that has been done within the Union framework and switch over to us completely."

I personally was particularly interested in the conversations which Ivan Silayev had with official representatives of the U.S. Administration. The prime minister was received by Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the President for national security affairs, and Lawrence Eagleburger, deputy secretary of state. The prime minister described the conversations as useful, but did not go into detail. I also asked whether the question of a possible visit by Boris Yeltsin to the United States had been raised. "There was no official talk about this," the Russian prime minister answered. "But there was semiofficial discussion."

Ivan Silayev had a very interesting meeting on the eve of his Moscow departure with representatives of the first wave of immigrants or, more precisely, with their descendants. There were Rodzyanko, Trubetskoy, Bagration, Golitsyn, Kochubey, Vrangel, Sheremetyev, and others present. There were suggestions that these people start discussion about the return of their family estates and other property. But they did not. Even Oleg Rodzyanko, the bluntest of them, said that "it is not a question of the return of my estate." Discussion was about how to revive Russia, spiritually revive it, how to preserve and save the historical values of the Russian land, and how to establish and develop contacts—human and business—with the descendants of those who left Russia.

Holds Washington Talks

PM3004093191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 91 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Gan report: "At Russia's Level—Head of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Government in the United States"]

[Text] Washington, 26—The visit to Washington by I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers who is in the United States at the invitation of the National Governors' Association, has ended. Although the American press did not pay all that much attention to his visit here, the head of the Russian Government by all accounts was satisfied with the level at which the meetings in the capital took place.

I.S. Silayev was received by Lawrence Eagleburger, deputy secretary of state; Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the president for national security affairs; Robert Mosbacher, secretary of commerce; and E. Madigen, secretary of agriculture. Talks also took place with T. Foley, speaker of the U.S. Congress House of Representatives; G. Mitchell and R. Dole, Democrat and Republican leaders in the Senate; and C. Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Until recently, official Washington authorities shied away from such direct contacts with leaders of Soviet republics. Here, in particular, they recall how the Bush administration kept at a considerable distance from Yeltsin and his team during their visit here. But it is now possible to talk about a change of tactics and the White House's gradual transfer to establishing direct relations at republic level.

In fact, I.S. Silayev's statements indicate that his delegation set itself this aim. Advocating "the establishment of a new format for relations between the Russian Federation and the United States," Silayev stressed that "Russia, which holds its own brief, is entering into international relations increasingly vigorously to occupy a worthy place in the world community."

At a news conference in the National Press Club on the results of the Washington meetings, the chairman of the Council of Ministers noted that there were two tasks during the talks in the American capital—to inform administration officials and the congressional leadership about RSFSR foreign and domestic policy and to turn a new page in relations between Russia, the United States, and individual American states. Meanwhile, he added, the foreign policy course of Russia's leadership coincides with the USSR president's main principled approaches to the country's foreign policy. "Naturally we are also taking due account of the Russian Federation's specific interests. I believe that henceforth it will be impossible,

without our participation, to resolve those foreign policy actions by the center which affect Russian interests," Silayev said.

How did he see Russia's role in the Soviet Union? According to Silayev, the Russian Federation does not intend to secede from the Union but it is insisting on new principles for its participation in it. It must be a union of sovereign states with the maximum degree of economic autonomy, including foreign economic sovereignty.

The head of the Russian Government spoke very critically of the anticrisis program presented by V. Pavlov recently. Silayev believes that the program carries all the hallmarks of the old administrative command system. "It cannot lead to stability. We are convinced that any program must be based on the need to effect a speedy transition to the market economy," he said.

After Washington the delegation departed for San Francisco and Los Angeles. Later it will visit New York. Numerous meetings are scheduled with leaders of certain states and American business representatives. Next year, as Silayev announced, there will be a chance to conclude direct agreements, for terms of three to five years, between the Russian Federation and individual American states.

On Joint Enterprises With U.S.

LD3004093191

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 29 April, during the "Vremya" newscast, carries a two-minute report by correspondent Mikhail Taratuta on the visit by Ivan Silayev, prime minister of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to the United States.

Taratuta briefly describes possible business contacts. Silayev attended and addressed a business meeting in San Francisco and signed the first ever agreement between Russia and California. In a video recording Silayev says: "This document will impart confidence in the realization of all the preliminary accords that exist today between our enterprises, our territories, and a number of leading companies in California."

Taratuta goes on to say that American business is being scared off somewhat by the unstable economic and political situation in the USSR. Taratuta asks what is the Russian leadership offering American businessmen.

In a video recording Silayev says: "Taking into account the fact that the territory of Russia is extremely rich in many types of resources, natural resources, scientific and production potential as well is sufficiently high, direct economic ties ranging from simple barter operations to setting up joint enterprises are, as it were, beyond the framework of any major political shocks and complications. Then we told them, proposed that they should make contact more boldly and directly with our areas and our enterprises. In general we sensed that the mood was right."

Ryzhkov To Run for Presidency if Nominated

PM0105104791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 May 91 p 1

[I. Kadulin report: "Evening Telephone Call for N.I. Ryzhkov"]

[Text] Over the last few days reports have appeared in the press saying that former USSR Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov has been nominated as a candidate for the post of Russian president. I asked Nikolay Ivanovich to comment on these reports. This is what he said:

"Over the last week I have been approached with this suggestion by representatives of major industrial enterprises, agro-industrial complexes, peasant organizations, territorial formations, and public organizations. I was also approached and asked to voice my opinion on this at the CPSU Central Committee plenum that I attended.

"I am grateful to all these people for trusting in my powers. This is the top post in the Russian republic and Russian state and therefore I consider these suggestions very interesting. Moreover, I cannot as a citizen remain aloof from active political life. I have been ill, but that has passed.

"If I am accorded such high trust and am nominated as a presidential candidate, I am ready to enter the election campaign. Then we will see what comes of it.... Let the people make their choice, the main thing is for the struggle between the candidates to be conducted correctly."

Travkin Problems With Divided Party Derided

PM0105113791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 91 Second Edition p 4

[A. Petrushov article: "You Can't Force People To Love You"]

[Text] They say that Nikolay Ilich is terribly modest. They claim that in the "banqueting" years [zastolnyye gody; play on phrase "zastoynyye gody" meaning "stagnation years"] he even refused to celebrate receiving his Order of Lenin, which he was awarded together with a hero star. Quite frankly, I very much doubted this, but the other day Travkin himself dispelled my doubts. Answering a journalist's question about his attitude to awards, the chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] said: "Like any normal person I am entirely indifferent to it." I read this and felt slightly put out. After all, shameful though it is to admit, I have dreamed of being awarded even a minor medal. I have been nominated several times, but never made it. And it serves journalists right: Our articles attack somebody one day, and somebody else the next. The powers that be have long memories... but that's by the by.

Even today there is nothing that anyone can teach Nikolay Ilich about modesty. He even has no presidential ambitions. Although, as DPR chairman and the head

of 33,000 "crack" fighters for democracy, it would seem hard to refrain from running for the post of Russian leader. That's not the way things work, Nikolay Ilich modestly noted, that someone who was a team leader in 1984 can be president in 1991. That is the way Travkin is. Whatever people may say, he is no Obolenskiy, who, you will recall, tried running straightaway for chairman of the Union Supreme Soviet. There were no accompanying fanfares, but history will record that there was somebody called Obolenskiy who almost became president.

Before the DPR Congress Travkin confidently claimed that there would be no split at the congress—a group of about 20 might break away, but that would be it. But in actual fact there was a split. And the kind of split that set a few noses out of joint. An opposition even emerged. On day two of the congress its leaders—A. Murashov and G. Kasparov—handed in their membership cards and staged a walkout. Around 100 delegates left with them. That was the result of the vanity shown by the "boss."

To be fair, I should note that the differences at the congress arose over terribly fundamental issues of the democratic movement in Russia. I categorically disagree with the description of the position in the DPR provided by one delegate. He called the situation in the party a "fight between cockroaches in a sealed jar." That participant really let himself go. That's the kind of person who needs to be driven out. What audacity. Instead of fighting to the death for Travkin's policy aims, he goes on criticizing and indulging himself. Nonetheless Travkin won. And the opposition remained in the minority. In other words, the opportunists. Please do not take offense. What they wanted was the following: "The fight against the Communist regime should not lead to a fight against the state as such. We want to change the political regime, but not to destroy the state, since both the right and left wings would be buried under its debris." All opportunists are alike, whoever they may be. Does Travkin need such members?

His program is extremely clear. "We categorically reject Communist ideology." "The DPR unites people who have consciously rejected the socialist choice. We are openly setting ourselves the task of bringing about nonviolent change in the political and economic system and turning Russia into a civilized country." "The DPR is a parliamentary-style party set up to engage in political struggle using constitutional methods." And so on and so forth.

That is their position! Its antistate spirit and meaning are clearly audible in every word. Incidentally, it has one serious flaw which would deter the fainthearted and unsteady. I am referring to the "nonviolent changing of the political and economic system." It is quite amazing that this could happen in a party in which, to use G. Kasparov's words, the very principle of democracy is denied. It is clearly a political trick. Someone's agents have probably appeared in the DPR's ranks and encouraged the delegates to take this politically naive step. Do tell us, you clever people, just how it is possible to change the state system by peaceful means. Strengthening the state and its unity, independence, and prosperity is another matter. This really can and should be done. Our country is more than ever in need of cooperation among all political forces. Steps have already been taken in this direction. As for the imposition of a "new order" by nonviolent means, this—if you will forgive me—is out of the realms of utopia.

But nothing terrible has happened. After all, Nikolay Ilich is still a political stripling: Back in 1984 he was just a leader of a team of construction workers. People learn from their mistakes. And the technical intelligentsia which make up the nucleus of the DPR have clearly let him down. There are few workers in the party—they account for just one-fifth of the membership. So don't let it get you down, Nikolay Ilich. Turn to the working masses, attract them through your personal example. Working people have simply gotten tired of waiting for you to join with them in eliminating the world's first workers' and peasants' state and building a new, civilized, Western-style state. As far as the split goes, all you can say is: You can't force people to love you. Isn't that so?

Central TV Coverage of N. Ossetia Events Hit

PM0105223591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 May 91 Second Edition p 3

[Statement by A. Galazov, chairman of North Ossetian SSR Supreme Soviet: "On Certain Television Broadcasts"]

[Text] Expressing the will of the republic's peoples, the North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has repeatedly voiced its positive attitude toward the rehabilitation of the Ingush people, at the same time taking into account the interests of all the peoples of the region and the Russian Federation. Consequently there is bewilderment and indignation at the position of the All-Union Television and Radio Company, which has been giving a superficial, tendentious, and one-sided coverage of this most acute problem and the events taking place in the region.

Through the mouthpiece of representatives of the Ingush people, who appear more often than the representatives of other peoples who have suffered repression, Central Television has recently been deliberately creating among all-Union viewers an enemy image in the form of the North Ossetian people and the leadership of the republic lawfully elected by them by attributing to them a devotion to Stalinism. From 22 April through 29 April this year alone, spokesmen of Ingush nationality have been given three opportunities to appear on television and give their biased views of the situation in the region. The North Ossetian people, who suffered no less than others from the repressions, do not bear either the legal or moral responsibility for the sufferings which befell other deported peoples.

A session of the North Ossetian SSR Supreme Soviet issues a resolute protest to the All-Union Television and Radio Company for systematic and deliberate distortion in its coverage of the processes taking place in the multinational North Caucasus region the complication of the situation connected with the introduction of a state of emergency in Vladikavkaz and the Prigorodnyy Rayon of the North Ossetian SSR may have catastrophic consequences not only for southern Russia but the whole country, too. [sentence as published] Responsibility for this also rests on the All-Union Television and Radio Company.

This statement was adopted at the Ninth Session of the North Ossetian SSR Supreme Soviet, 12th Convocation, on 29 April 1991.

A. Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian SSR Supreme Soviet

North Ossetia Declares Day of Mourning

LD0105151391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] In Vladikavkaz, tension remains undiminished, not just in North Ossetia but throughout the whole region of the North Caucasus.

The earthquake that occurred in South Ossetia on 29 April has brought new grief. By a decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, 3 May has been declared a day of mourning in North Ossetia. All possible emergency measures have been taken by the republic's leadership to provide assistance to those who are suffering.

IZVESTIYA Report on Moscow City Soviet Session

PM3004225991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 May 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Irina Demchenko: "Mayor of Moscow Cannot Be Chairman of Moscow City Soviet"]

[Text] Moscow City Soviet—The extraordinary session of the Moscow City Soviet, which adopted the Provisional Statute on the Mayor of Moscow and the Procedure for His Election, lasted just one day.

The document says that the mayor of Moscow is the head of the executive power in the city and is to be elected by universal direct and secret ballot. His powers mainly coincide with those of the present chairman of the city soviet executive committee, except for the fact that the mayor forms the executive organs—his team—completely independently, without the approval of his candidates at a Moscow City Soviet session.

It is laid down that the posts of mayor and chairman of Moscow City Soviet may not be combined. This means that the present chairman of Moscow City Soviet, G. Popov, must resign his present post if he wants to run for mayor. The mayor of Moscow cannot be a local soviet deputy.

The provisional statute enshrines the priority of Moscow City Soviet decisions over those of the mayor in the event of conflict. The mayor does not have the right to disband Moscow City Soviet or the rayon soviets or to alter the city's administrative and territorial division.

The provisional statute is to be submitted to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet as a legislative initiative by the Moscow City Soviet. The session found it impossible to accept the draft USSR law "on the status of the capital of the USSR and the RSFSR," which has been published in the press, on the grounds that it contravenes the Constitution of the Union and the republic and infringes the rights of Muscovites.

The Moscow City Soviet session adopted an appeal to the RSFSR and USSR Supreme Soviets which proposes adopting the law on the status of the capital of the RSFSR and the USSR only after the signing of the Union treaty. For the preparation of the law it is planned to create a new commission in which members of the Union and Russian legislatures and Moscow City Soviet deputies would be represented with equal rights.

Moscow Economy Continues 'Slide'

LD3004211491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow's economy continues to slide downhill, Zharov, deputy chairman of the Committee for the Capital's Economy, said today at a meeting of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee. The meeting was devoted to the discussion of the main results of the fulfillment of the program for the city's social and economic development and of its budget in the first quarter.

However serious the situation is, the impression one gets, however, is that the executive committee members again gathered in order simply to register the next stage of drawing nearer to catastrophe. Most of those who spoke confined themselves to enumerating negative tendencies which are arising in the business administered by them, and to complaining about suppliers. Almost no specific proposals aimed at improving the situation were heard.

The discontinuation of the allocation of additional quotas for financing capital investments in the current year to enterprises and organizations of the Moscow City Executive Committee was one of the measures which the executive committee nevertheless decided to take.

Legislation Defines Effect of Anti-Speculation Law

PM3004154191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Resolution signed by B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, in Moscow on 25 April: "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Procedure for

Applying the RSFSR Law 'On the Action on the Territory of the RSFSR of the USSR Law of 31 October 1990 "On Increasing Liability for Speculation, Unlawful Trading, and Trade Abuses" '"]

[Text] In connection with the enactment on RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] territory of the USSR Law "On Increasing Liability for Speculation, Unlawful Trading, and Trade Abuses," the RSFSR Supreme Soviet **resolves**:

1. Courts and prosecutor's office organs shall, within the limits of their competence, check all criminal cases in which legally valid sentences are in force against people who have not served out their sentence for speculation or violation of the rules of trade and, if there are grounds covered by Article 8 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, shall lodge appeals under supervisory authority for the courts to decide the question of release from further serving the sentence.

2. People released from further serving a sentence under Point 1 of the present resolution shall not be exempt from additional punishment in the form of confiscation of property carried out before the day of the adoption of the RSFSR Law of 31 October 1990 "On Increasing Liability for Speculation, Unlawful Trading, and Trade Abuses."

3. Criminal cases relating to crimes covered by Articles 154 and 156-3 of the RSFSR Criminal Code in which proceedings brought by investigation and inquiry organs and the courts have not reached the point at which the sentence acquires legal force shall be reviewed in accordance with Articles 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the USSR Law of 31 October 1990 "On Increasing Liability for Speculation, Unlawful Trading, and Trade Abuses."

4. Sentences passed on people convicted of crimes covered by Articles 154 and 156-3 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and carried out by the day of publication of the RSFSR Law "On the Action on the Territory of the RSFSR of the USSR Law of 31 October 1990 'On Increasing Liability for Speculation, Unlawful Trading, and Trade Abuses,'" as well as materials and cases decided through the application of Articles 6-10 of the RSFSR Law of Criminal Procedure shall not be subject to review under Point 1 of this resolution.

[Signed] B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

House of the Soviets of the RSFSR. Moscow, 25 April 1991.

RSFSR Leaders' Views on Federation Assailed

91UN1398A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Apr 91 p 2

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Kh. Khubiyev "In the Labyrinth of Politics"]

[Text] Moscow—**The question of a federative arrangement for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and the signing of the Union treaty were considered recently in the work of the Extraordinary Third RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies. This had an effect on the course of the discussion of this enormously important issue: Tired out by earlier political squabbling, the deputies were unable to define their final position, and forwarded the document proposed on the issue for further work.**

Believing that it is not only the deputies who are able to participate in the discussion of this problem, we are publishing the opinion of one competent person.

In my opinion, in these alarming times the priority task is to prevent interethnic conflicts, including on the territory of Russia. Taking into account the tragic events in other republics, the Russians should make every effort to avoid misfortune. But I think that everyone has doubts about whether they can do this.

This question could have arisen among many people who observed the course of the Third RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies: At what was the indefatigable energy of the deputies from the "Democratic Russia" group aimed? They were obviously bored when other deputies called for a search for ways to stabilize the economy and solve the problems that have built up in the agrarian sector. Signs have already appeared that these forces dream of relying on an artificially heated interethnic tension in the most multinational of republics—Russia.

Quite recently in the weekly ARGUMENT I FAKTY (No. 11, 1991) the chairman of an RSFSR Supreme Soviet committee, S.M. Shakhray, tossed up the idea of the possibility of forming Russian autonomous formations in the former autonomous republics of the RSFSR. This is being done on the specious pretext of concern for the unity of Russia and the fight against separatism within the RSFSR. A position so insidious and dangerous that it cannot be ignored. The more so since other leaders of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet are guided by this kind of "concern" for the unity of Russia. For example, in an interview with the newspaper IZVESTIYA (12 March 1991), R.I. Khasbulatov expresses indignation that there has been "disorder" and the "parade of the sovereignties" and of the "independent principalities" in Russia. They dream of creating their own defense ministers and foreign ministers in them, of issuing their own currency, and so forth. It should be noted that all these far-fetched accusations are really based only on the desire of the former autonomous formations to be subjects of the Union treaty, but this does not at all signify secession from the RSFSR. No autonomous formation has stated such. Moreover, when adopting declarations on their own status, many former autonomous formations have specially written in clauses that speak of the proclamation of a republic as part of the RSFSR. And to

accuse them of wanting to create their own armies and so forth would be a manifestation either of incompetence or bad faith.

As far as any desire to participate in the signing of a Union treaty is concerned, it is just that—a desire for the actual equality of the peoples of the USSR. Those who believe that only the Union republics have the right to participate in the Union treaty are deliberately or unconsciously proceeding on the basis of the Stalinist separation into first- and second-class nations.

But whereas R.I. Khasbulatov objects to participation by former autonomous formations in the Union treaty, B.N. Yeltsin even protests against the Union treaty being signed by a group of fully empowered representatives elected at an RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies. Meanwhile, I would like to note that the special features of the multinational RSFSR require the participation in the signing of the Union treaty of a delegation that represents all the peoples of the RSFSR regardless of the status of their national-state formation. Moreover, the delegation should also include representatives of the peoples whose statehood since the Stalinist repressions has still not been restored, for example, the Soviet Germans.

We note a curious detail. S.M. Shakhray, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, has stated: "During the initial stage the RSFSR will regulate on a contractual basis relations with the republics that make it up. Treaties are to be signed between the RSFSR and each of the autonomous formations separately. The two parties define the levels of their own competence and consolidate it. Only after this will the Union treaty be signed by all the autonomous formations as part of the Russian delegation."

We see a new cascade of political conjuring tricks. Instead of signing a new federative treaty, the old federative structure signs a treaty with each autonomous formation "separately." Then, according to the author, all the autonomous formations are led on a short rein to sign the Union treaty. It seems that the RSFSR leadership has started to use the methods for which the old Union leadership was so sharply criticized.

The existence of the USSR is not mentioned in the draft Constitution of the RSFSR, neither is the place of Russia within it defined. The position with respect to the autonomous formations is also extremely vague. But the planned elimination of the soviets also assumes elimination of the statehood of the peoples of the RSFSR. For historically they received their statehood through the soviets and in the form of the soviets. Elimination of the latter ineluctably eliminates even the statehood of the peoples of the RSFSR that existed during the times of Stalinism and the period of stagnation. This is what Russian "democracy" has come to in its struggle against the "big center!" To a unitary state with a vertical dictatorial form of government.

Was this prospect understood by those who voted for introducing a presidency in Russia? For when the vote took place a statement had already been issued about "empowered representatives" instead of the present organs of power. But this is the question that arises: Are the peoples of the RSFSR ready to abandon their legally elected organs of power and submit to a dictatorial form of government? The answer is obvious.

But if the present Russian leadership shows stubbornness in its unitarian plans, what then? A new stage of struggle, now with the Russian "center," a new round in the national liberation movement?

In general I would like to know what kind of scientific basis exists for all the transformations being contemplated in the state arrangement in the RSFSR; where have they been published or drawn from? I suggest that radical transformations should be preceded by scientific justification. This could be seen from the unprecedented weakness in the content of the report on the draft Federative Treaty presented at the Third RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies (ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 4 April 1991). In that report, using eclectic arguments about the treaty-based, constitutional model for federation, an attempt is made to lead us away from any solution to the extremely complex and delicate set of problems pertaining to renewal of the federation. The tragic experience of the republics, which are less complex in terms of their internal national-state arrangements, teaches circumspection and a sense of responsibility in this matter.

Is there a real threat of a collapse of the RSFSR? I believe that there is. The RSFSR leadership and certain political forces that call themselves democratic see just one guilty party here—the CPSU. But whereas yesterday the accusations made in the meetings on squares about all our misfortunes being attributable to a single "enemy" may have received some support, now people have pretty much grown tired of the endless and poorly justified broadsides launched at the target within range. This reasonable question arises: Surely it is not those they have proclaimed the "enemy" who have led the nationalism and separatism that has become so widespread in recent years in the USSR, is it? For those political forces have already been defined quite clearly, have they not? The most recent events in Georgia, kindly hushed up by the pseudodemocrats, have put everything in a proper perspective. It is precisely now, when the possibility of manipulating the public awareness has been sharply curtailed, and when some politicians find themselves on the brink of political exposure, that the desire to exchange an aching head for one that is clear is emerging.

If anyone is really concerned about the unity of the RSFSR he should fight for the unity of the USSR. And those who look for enemies of such unification should be looking closely at the enemies of unity of the USSR who have already been clearly detected. It is impossible to support the national-separatist forces in the Union with one arm while trying to preserve the unity of Russia with

the other. Double political standards can lead only to one thing—political bankruptcy.

The inventiveness of some politicians in their search for enemies is simply masterly. On the one hand the blame for the possible collapse of the RSFSR is shifted from one set of political forces to another. On the other hand, the populations of the autonomous formations are being urged on by the legally elected organs of power, which are now obviously inconvenient as far as the present leadership of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is concerned. In the above- mentioned article, suspecting some autonomous formations of a desire to secede from the RSFSR, S. Shakhray threatens the possible formation of Russian autonomous formations within those national autonomous formations, and an unprecedented exacerbation of interethnic enmity, "which has not even been dreamed of in the Baltic or Transcaucasus." Evidently those who have supported and defended the national-extremists in the Baltic and Transcaucasus will no longer be tolerated. If the endless attacks on the CPSU and the confrontation with the center do not produce the desire effect, they select other ways to maintain the social tension—setting the populations of the autonomous formations against the legally elected soviets—and have no fears regarding possible conflicts among the peasantry about the boundaries in the re-allotment of land, and so forth.

It is essential to understand that this is a dangerous road.

National peace is the foundation for the unity of the RSFSR. Our peoples have lived in peace and friendship for decades, and have together endured the most difficult of trials. It is high time to look to our still quite recent history. Historical arrogance takes a cruel vengeance upon itself. It is time to look just as carefully at the forces that created the national peace, and at those forces that are now engaged in a destructive internal struggle.

All the autonomous formations and all the truly democratic and patriotic forces are for the Union. The all-Union referendum showed that convincingly. And if some leaders direct their energy toward destroying the Union, then they will also pull down the RSFSR. This is becoming increasingly obvious since political manipulation has been brought into play. For example, R. Khasbulatov says this: "Russia was created a millennium before us and we have no right to ruin it" (IZVESTIYA 12 March 1991). This is right in its way. Only we should also add that it is impossible to fight for the unity of Russia and simultaneously support national-separatism outside Russia using the strength of the authority of the Russian state. The effect of a political boomerang is inevitable.

Making the RSFSR sovereign, or indeed any republic, is not at variance with their essential unity. In the field of the economy, for example, any sovereign state fights to expand its economic space for its own economic subjects. If, of course, what it cares about is economic growth and the well-being of citizens rather than satisfying political ambitions, and if policy is directed toward creation rather than destruction.

Unfortunately, the recent Third RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies demonstrated quite the opposite. Millions of people were expecting from it an intensive search for a solution to the economic crisis and improvements in living standards, but what they saw was only a struggle for power and methodical solicitation for the presidency. The creative goals remained in the dark corners of the struggle for power. What is most surprising of all was the active (if not decisive) factor of the meetings and strikes in the struggle for power, even though I am deeply convinced that the decisive political factor in the work of the congress should have been not that section of the population engaged in meetings and strikes but the working section, that is, the majority. But its representatives (in contrast to the representatives of the meeters and strikers and hunger strikers) were not invited to the congress and were not given the floor. This is quite convincing proof of which forces dominated at the congress, the creative or the destructive, and on what forces the present leadership of the republic is counting.

Supreme Soviet Member Isayev Defends Japan Trip

91UN1389A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Boris Isayev, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, by N. Garifullina; place and date not given: "Considering AWOL Absenteeism"]

[Text] **"'RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Boris Isayev is AWOL.' Ruslan Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, conveyed this information to members of the Presidium of the Russian legislature on 17 April.**

"Boris Isayev is in Japan along with the official Soviet delegation accompanying USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. R. Khasbulatov stated that Isayev was not among the republic's representatives authorized by the Russian leadership for participation in the visit. The first deputy chairman of the Russian legislature states he had a conversation with Boris Isayev on the eve of the delegation's departure for Tokyo, at which time Isayev informed him that the USSR president had invited him to participate in the trip. Khasbulatov forbade Isayev to leave Moscow, citing the fact that he had a letter signed by the heads of the legislature and government which listed the Russian representatives in the Union delegation, and Isayev's name did not appear.

"Yesterday Khasbulatov presented a deposition to the finance and accounting section of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to consider Boris Isayev's failure to appear at work absence without authorization and not to pay his salary for these days."

RIA recently disseminated this report. However, readers, apparently, have already picked up the information from other publications. What interested me with respect to the situation was Isayev's own position. I met with him upon his return from Japan.

[Garifullina] Boris Mikhaylovich, at the same time that you were participating in negotiations at the summit level, here you were being labeled a truant.

[Isayev] Yes, I heard about this when I was still in Tokyo. On the very day the visit concluded, our military attache, Vladimir Aleksandrovich Dombrovskiy, told me about the sensation in journalistic circles on the subject of my trip. I never even dreamed that such a hullabaloo would be raised around my humble person. My son phoned me from Tataria—even there one local newspaper had printed this "hot news."

[Garifullina] All the same, Boris Mikhaylovich, how justified are the accusations of your having violated work legislation?

[Isayev] Perhaps some day this incident will be remembered as one of the anecdotes of the perestroyka era, of the war of laws, of the confrontation directed towards the center.... But insofar as the accusations have resounded and been published in millions of copies, I would like, without going into details, to draw your attention to the legal side of the issue. The composition of the official state delegation was determined and approved by USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The president's special authorization in this regard was issued more than two weeks prior to our departure—on 29 March—and this must be well known to the leaders of Russia as well, including the esteemed Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov.

[Garifullina] According to the RIA report, Ruslan Imranovich refers to a letter signed by the heads of the legislature and the government of Russia, where your name allegedly does not appear....

[Isayev] Negotiations were not being conducted between Russia and Japan, but between the USSR and Japan. The president formed the team. I believe that the highest authority in the country, the constitutional chief of state, is the USSR president. I respect the USSR Constitution. Russia is an integral, indivisible part of the USSR. Consequently, directives of the president—for me and, I believe, for everyone—are the law.

On the eve of our departure, 12 April, I attempted to get in touch with Boris Nikolayevich. Four times I phoned over the official secure line. I got through only once. My call was answered by Burbulis, his personal representative, who promised to discuss the matter with Boris Nikolayevich and call me back Saturday. However, I never received a call. And insofar as the negotiations to come were to deal with issues of direct concern to the interests of Russia, and had great significance for the people of Russia, for the sovereignty of Russia, I weighed all the considerations and felt it necessary to accept the president's invitation. With respect to assignment of responsibilities, I oversee executive structures in the Russian state and work directly with the Council of Ministers and ministries and departments of the republic. Therefore, my participation in these negotiations was only natural.

Let me state further that the problems under scrutiny in the negotiations are questions of principle for Russia, insofar as our basic interests and the interests of Japan are concentrated in the Far East. It is no accident that the official delegation included the chairman of the Khabarovsk Kray Soviet and the chairman of the Yakutia Supreme Soviet. Chairman Fedorov of the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies attended as a delegation member.

[Garifullina] In what specific negotiations did you participate?

[Isayev] In two rounds of talks between M.S. Gorbachev and T. Kaifu, on 16 and 17 April, when the foundations of the understandings were essentially laid, and in the final meeting when documents were signed. Here Comrade Khasbulatov presents me to the Presidium as a truant. You know, coming from the lips of one of the leaders of legislature, such a thing sounds like an outrage—as if I had gone off on a pleasure trip. Our "pleasure trip" was such that delegation members slept only three to four hours a night. The work was most intense. The negotiations began in a complicated fashion and that was the case throughout. One of the main questions raised by the Japanese was the territorial issue. And for Russia this was the most serious, substantive question. It was therefore immediately stated in unequivocal terms that we had not come to trade in islands or territories, but to conduct negotiations on prospects for consolidating and developing good-neighborly relations on a mutually beneficial basis.

[Garifullina] Did the president turn to you directly when Russia's interests came up?

[Isayev] During the flight to Japan, Mikhail Sergeyevich invited the entire Russian delegation to his compartment and we spent more than an hour talking over all the positions. But later, during the negotiations, there were no variations in reading on a single issue....

I would like to note one thing further—the interests of Russia and the people of Russia for me are above all else. And if today I hold my own position with respect to the Supreme Soviet leadership and express my own assessments at the congress, this does not mean that in doing so I am acting to the detriment of the interests of our Russia. It is for this reason I presented the statement that I very much want to help the country and the people. The pain rests with me to this day. Things are not getting better. Here is one telegram I received:

"Metallurgy production at the Chelyabinsk Metallurgy Combine is moving towards complete collapse. Coke Oven Battery No. 7 is practically destroyed. Four of five

blast furnaces have ceased operation. The converter shop is idle. A lack of transformer steel has caused the Verkh-Iset metallurgical plant and transformer production enterprise to cease operation. Due to a shortage of cast iron, the smelting of lead-containing steels has been terminated.... Five thousand customers are suffering as a result of the production collapse at the combine."

Just look at the situation we face. The entire economy is off balance. At the same time, the silence of Boris Nikolayevich is totally incomprehensible. At the congress he demanded emergency powers and a redistribution of responsibilities. The congress granted them. Unfortunately, the situation continues to grow more complicated. Must we operate according to the principle—the worse off, the better? Now this is indeed alarming....

Western Republics

May Day Celebrations Reported 1 May

Festive Demonstrations Held

LD0105180691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1136 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 May (TASS)—A demonstration dedicated to the day of international solidarity of working people took place in the Ukranian capital today. Organized by the Kiev City Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the City Council of Independent Trade Unions, it took place on the central road in Kiev—Kreshchatik.

Participants in the demonstration—representatives of public organizations, labor collectives, veterans of World War II, and veterans of labor—laid flowers on Lenin's monument and then a mass meeting took place. Those who spoke there called for preserving civic peace, national accord and ensuring the social protection of working people.

Then a demonstration and a mass meeting, organized by the Ukrainian People's Movement (Rukh) and the Ukrainian Republican Party, took place. They proceeded under the slogan "Solidarity of the People of the Ukraine in the Struggle for State Independence."

A May Day demonstration that was held in Minsk inspired hope that mutual understanding of those who are seeking ways out of the social crisis is possible. Those who were working at their machines in April and those who were taking part in mass meetings in the city center proceeded across Lenin square in nine large columns (according to the number of rayons in the Belorussian capital). All of them were united by the slogan: "Long Live Peace, Confidence, and Cooperation!"

May Day mass meetings, rallies and festive concerts took place in all oblast and rayon centers of Belorussia.

Mood in Donetsk Noted

LD0105184291 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 1 May 91

[Report by correspondent G. Kondaurov in Donetsk; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kondaurov] May Day arrived in Donetsk with the gardens in blossom. The town was decked out in bright colors, and when we went out on to the streets this warm morning, it would have been very nice—and, it seemed to me, that is what many people were thinking—to have had a bright and tranquil festival in the town. On an appeal of the CPSU city committee, representatives of many industrial enterprises—miners, steel workers and engineers—joined the demonstration. It was well attended. Calls were heard for political and economic stabilization and the social protection of the working people from price rises and unemployment. People here are also expressing their dissatisfaction over the crisis situation which has developed in the country.

This was also the topic of a city rally attended by all parties, movements and social forces. But, at times, emotions went overboard here. There was further sharp criticism of the CPSU and the center; representatives of Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement], Ukrainian republican parties, and others who count themselves among the opposition repeated their well-known political doctrines. Still the appeal of the city soviet prevailed—act constructively today, aim for the solidarity of all who come out in favor of the interests of the working people, for a fitting standard of living and for radical economic and political reform.

[A.G. Makhmudov, chairman of the city soviet] The aim is one of consolidation. At any rate, it is pleasing that alongside me is the co-chairman of the strike committee. It is also pleasing that the miners have now ended their strike. The process of work in the pits will be resumed.

[Kondaurov] The statement of the nine republican leaders and the president is about coordinating a whole number of major issues and about the fact that they will work purposefully to solve these issues. How do you assess this and what sort of things can it bring to the social movements which we are seeing at the present moment?

[Makhmudov] This is an absolutely necessary measure for getting out of the political deadlock. It is impossible to solve economic problems without settling the political crisis. We all know that. A roundtable in itself is a very significant idea. Nine republics are represented but the number is not important here; what is important is quality. This completely different quality shows an intention to tackle questions in a radical and non-traditional, non-stereotyped way. Therefore I believe this is a very constructive step. [video shows park crowd at rally and banner being held up with folowing slogan: "CPSU—The Mind, Honor and Conscience of our

Epoch" crossed out to read "CPSU—The Pain, Blood and Tears of Our Epoch"; man carrying a banner upside down, gesticulating and shouting at uniformed men]

Celebration Held in Kishinev

LD0105221191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 1 May 91

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Sokirke]

[Excerpt] The May Day celebration in Kishinev today started with a procession along the city's main thoroughfare by the thousands-strong columns of the Alliance for the National Revival and Independence of the Republic of 16 December. Demands for justice and social protection for the broad strata of the population were heard. It is noteworthy that our common problems have brought representatives of different parties and public movements, and people of different nationalities into the ranks of the demonstrators.

A thousands-strong rally started later here in the city's central square. [passage omitted]

Belorussian Labor Confederation Profiled

91UN1375A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 12 Apr 91 p 3

[Interview with M. Sobol, chairman of the Belorussian Labor Confederation Executive Committee, by SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA special correspondent I. Grishan; place and date not given; under the rubric "Interview With a Commentary": "To Look Truth in the Eye, or Who Is "Throwing a Rope Into the Hole" and Why]

[Text]**In our extremely politicized times, it is becoming increasingly difficult to get one's bearings in the fireworks of newly emerging parties, associations, unions, etc. SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA tries to present in its pages various points of view on this process with the aim of helping our readers understand the positions, forms, and methods of operation of various movements, and determine who is who and what they are striving to achieve.**

Recently, a founding congress of so-called "independent labor organizations" of the republic took place in Minsk. It created the Belorussian Labor Confederation [KTB]. In connection with this, the editors received a number of letters from readers who asked us to provide information about this organization. We offer you an interview with a KTB leader by a SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA special correspondent.

I will say at the outset: I was not able to get an extensive and comprehensive interview with M. Sobol, chairman of the Belorussian Labor Confederation Executive Committee. Our conversation was constantly interrupted by a ringing telephone. Calls were coming from Donetsk and Vilnius.... As I gathered, the dialogue was related to the topic of the warning strike by workers in a number of Minsk enterprises that took place on 3-4 April. Finally, however, my interlocutor is ready for a conversation.

[Grishan] Please tell us about the organization of which you are a leader.

[Sobol] Our labor movement in the republic started to take shape in April of 1989. An action group was created; it consisted of workers who supported the Belorussian People's Front. Even then we understood that any mass movement lacks sufficient opportunities and mechanisms to fully protect the interests of a concrete worker in a concrete situation.

Thus, on 9 September 1989, an organizational committee of the Belorussian Workers Union was established; it included myself, G. Mukhin, V. Galenchik, E. Grabovskiy from Minsk, A. Pavlovich from Mogilev, V. Bugakov from Bobruysk, R. Pastukhov from Slonim, and others.

Then, at the end of March this year, a founding congress of the independent labor organizations was held in the Elektronmash plant clubhouse. It created the Belorussian Labor Confederation (KTB); that is, we now have established the foundation and created the structures for serving the activities of workers unions, and professional, branch, and other organizations on the local level.

At the same congress, the charter of our organization was adopted, and an executive committee and a control and inspection commission were elected.

[Grishan] As I understand it, your organization is an alternative to official trade unions?

[Sobol] No. We are an alternative to our powerlessness and unprotectedness. But who stands in our way? I will answer—state pro-communist trade unions. Behind them are lies. They themselves artificially put any workers movement into the position of being an alternative to them. But today nothing can help them; there is nothing they can explain to the people, and they put themselves in a corner.

Let us recall the so-called conference of representatives of workers collectives (October 1989), where more than 400 meritorious achievers of communist labor gathered. Among them, 80 percent were communists. I, the representative of the only workers organization in Belorussia, had to stand by the microphone for 15 minutes so I could have three minutes to read the protest. On top of that, the newspaper PRATSA (No. 1) printed a distorted transcript of my speech. Therefore, in order not to give the nomenklatura an opportunity to speak in the name of workers through artificially created organizations—such as, for instance, the Council of Workers Collectives of Belorussia, or of the USSR—we have the following clause in our charter: "Inclusion of KTB member organizations and unions (individually or collectively), without their written request, in any other public associations by decision of any organs, is not permitted and may be challenged in court."

[Grishan] Is your organization planning to put together documents for its registration?

[Sobol] Of course. There is one difficulty here, however. In order to register an organization must have its own office.

[Grishan] You are advocating the disbanding of the Supreme Soviet, the resignation of the Union and republic leadership, and the conduct of new elections on a multiparty basis. You presented these and other political demands in your speech on 4 April in Lenin Square in Minsk. Do you not think that today people are dead tired of all sorts of political games and that in the end many will simply not show up at the polling places? After all, how long can we be engaged in these elections and re-elections?

[Sobol] I am certain that people will go to vote! To come out of a hole, one must know that the rope thrown from above is in safe hands. It is another matter, however, that our brains have retained the standard-thinking mode, and many simply do not know the democratic procedures of conducting elections. The vote should be by party slates, while the parties must open up and disclose their position to a maximum degree specifically during the election campaign. The United States is an example.

[Grishan] I think there is a certain degree of faulty logic in your replies, some contradiction. For instance, you stand for depoliticization and de-party-ization of workers collectives, but will not your organization turn into a bona fide political party operating at enterprises, offices, etc.?

[Sobol] No, we are not going to become a party. We do not have a program, and we do not define in advance our place in major politics. But we will use everything that takes place there to the benefit of our organization, that is, for the purpose of raising the living standards of its members.

(From the charter: "KTB creates its structures (primary organizations) at enterprises, in the offices and institutions of learning, and at places of residence... KTB members participate in forming organs of state power and administration, as well as in working out the decisions of such organs... KTB may have in its possession buildings, structures, housing, equipment, money, and other property, necessary for material support of its activity....")

[Grishan] One more question in this regard. Your relationship with the Belorussian People's Front. As is clear from its activities lately, what we have is the formation of a political party; the Belorussian Labor Confederation stands for—again, in words—depoliticization?

[Sobol] At the Second Congress of the Belorussian People's Front (NFB), I was included in the Soym. NFB supports private property, including that of land. I fully support it. A citizen living by his labor, on his land, is protected from any politicization by this alone. Although, of course, NFB also has its own difficulties and shortcomings.

(From the KTB charter: "...associations headed and directed by representatives of political organizations may not be KTB members....")

[Grishan] You categorically advocate a market economy; but the CPSU also stands on the same position?

[Sobol] Yes, I am for a market, for private property, and in general for common sense. The CPSU, however, is hoping that even in a market environment it will determine priorities by its own laws, not by economic ones.

[Grishan] To put it mildly, your point of view is far from being incontestable. Another question, if you do not mind: Where do you work now? As an equipment calibrator?

[Sobol] No. I am a full-time chairman of the Belorussian People's Front governing board's commission on liaison with industry. I am paid 300 rubles a month.

In general, our movement is trying to unite the workers who are aware as citizens. However, we cannot protect all workers, and we will only carry out our promises. It is sad to look when a man—a powerfully built giant—is waiting to be protected by an impotent bureaucrat or a party functionary....

Our conversation was again (for how many times now) interrupted by a telephone call. I realized that it would take a while. Besides, the KTB leader was in a hurry to get to the railroad workers meeting....

AFTERWORD

I would rather not give today an unequivocal appraisal of the Belorussian Labor Confederation's activities. Time will answer this question better than anyone could. Although the desire of the KTB—as its leader put it, "the only workers organization in Belorussia"—to exert its influence on the organs of republic state power is, as they say, obvious (this, by the way, is written in its charter). Therefore—do forgive me, Mikhail Sobol—I am certain that it is not economic issues that are a priority in the current demands of "informal" organizations, but political ones.

In connection with this, I will permit myself to briefly state my opinion on the topic of the strikes and rallies that have taken place in Minsk and other cities during these April days.

Yes, it is hard not to understand the people who are overwhelmed by unaccustomed high prices on basic consumer goods, let alone all others. And we should probably not be "nitpicking" towards the workers who gathered in Lenin Square and would not give the chairman of the city soviet, A. Gerasimenko, and the chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, V. Kebich, an opportunity to explain the situation; who

booed in response to sober proposals made by S. Shushkevich. The atmosphere was just too heated for that....

One should not blame the "instigators" of this unrest, either. Besides, in my opinion, to a large degree everything was happening spontaneously. According to same M. Sobol, he, as a leader of the Workers Union, was not admitted by the workers into their columns marching towards the House of Government.

What we should not forget is that street democracy is the most primitive form of democracy; it is the rule of the mob. In it, the sense of responsibility dissolves, the freedom of thought and conscience disappear. The mob is merciless toward any man, even one who is close to it; it may trample anyone without pity, empathy, or compassion. I personally saw a fanatical gleam in the eyes of many who had gathered in Lenin Square; I heard the roar in unison that seconded any, even the most meaningless, slogans.

Hysterical cries—Out! Hold them responsible! Crush this Snake! etc., etc.—will never help us build a free, law-based society. Are we not in danger of again stooping to a search for villains, enemies of the people?

Another question—who benefits from this hype, from this fanning of passions in our long-suffering republic? Who wants to achieve gains by calling people to the square—and why do they?

The answer, I think, is simple. What we have now is an open struggle not only for power, but for change in an existing regime.

We have to look the truth in the eye: Leaders of "informal" organizations have specifically appraised the situation in the workers collectives that is dangerously explosive but beneficial for their politics. Of course, it is possible now to come to power on the workers' shoulders. It is much more difficult to afterwards use this power for the good of the people.

History teaches us that very often those who sound the alarm and bring crowds to the squares, later either become victims of these crowds or smear themselves in blood....

Let us think about it.

[Signed] I. Grishan, SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA special correspondent.

Ukraine's Kravchuk on Agreements With Bavaria

LD0105162491 Kiev International Service in English 0000 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] [Announcer] Today the chairman of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk has held a press conference for home and foreign journalists on the results of the visit of a delegation of Ukrainian parliamentarians to the Federal Republic of Germany. Opening the news conference, Leonid Kravchuk said that the visit of Ukraine's delegation to the FRG was carried out against a favorable political background. The delegation was received by Federal President of the FRG Richard von Weizsaecker and the Foreign Minister of Germany Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The Ukrainian MP's visited Bonn, Munich and Regensburg. Speaking about the ties which were established during the visit, Leonid Kravchuk said in part:

[Begin Kravchuk recording, in Ukrainian fading to English translation] A memorandum was signed with the Siemens firm on setting up a joint venture with the Kiev scientific and production amalgamation for relay and automatic equipment. In line with this document the regional centres of the republic will be provided already before the end of the year with computer tomographs for medical check-ups. Issues of creating a joint enterprise for [word indistinct] furniture, which will be sold in the Ukraine for Deutschemarks and rubles were finalized with the (System Tech) firm in Nuremburg. A joint venture will be established in Transcarpathia with the (Hip) firm. This enterprise will produce baby food. Commercial contacts were consolidated or established with more than 30 firms, said Leonid Kravchuk. [end recording]

[Announcer] The chairman of Ukraine's legislature said that a sitting of a permanent Ukrainian-Bavarian work group will be held in Kiev in June. It has also been expected that Ukraine will be visited by the prime minister of Bavaria, ministers of health protection, justice, culture and ecology of Bavaria.

Ukrainian Legislative Statement on Situation

LD2604132991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1905 GMT 25 Apr 91

[by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Stanislav Volnyanskiy]

[Text] Kiev, 25 Apr (UKRINFORM-TASS)—The aggravation of the sociopolitical situation in the Ukraine is assessed in a statement adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet today. The document notes that it is manifesting itself in growing dissatisfaction among various social strata, threats of mass strikes, and the appearance of indicators pointing to significant impoverishment of the population.

The republic's Supreme Soviet thinks that the continuation of the unitary economic policy by the center during the recent months has become the main reason for this situation.

The statement underlines that during this period the legislature and the government of the Ukraine played a waiting game and did not do everything possible to weaken the influence of this policy from the center. Up to date there is no clear anticrisis program in the republic and the carrying out of radical economic reform is being delayed.

The Supreme Soviet sees a way out of this situation in intensifying work in the direction of ensuring sovereignty and in carrying out an independent economic policy. Measures which need to be implemented in the near future to stabilize the situation are also presented in the document.

At the same time, deputies think that these measures will not work without civic peace in society, the smooth functioning of labor collectives, and increasing industrial and agricultural volumes of production.

It was proposed that various political forces in the republic cooperate constructively to overcome the crisis and stabilize the situation in the Ukraine.

Kiev Students' Hunger Strike Ridiculed

PM0105133991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent I. Tikhomirov: "Happy Hunger Strike. Who is Aggravating the Atmosphere in Kiev and How"]

[Text] Kiev—The "democrats" brought the Ukrainian capital surprise after surprise last fall. By the time the routine session of the Supreme Soviet opened, many followers, mainly from the republic's western oblasts, had gathered there. At rallies and demonstrations, which had shifted up to the walls of the legislative building, they were going through their plangent litany of ultimatums: Down with the CPSU, the Union treaty, and the Council of Ministers' Chairman! "Their" deputies meticulously aped them inside the assembly hall, but the Supreme Soviet did not give in. However, it did then give in to the long hunger strike by the students in the city's central square.

Two weeks after the start of the hunger strike, when the students' state of health was described as critical, the session adopted by a majority of votes a resolution reflecting all the hunger strikers' demands: the resignation of the head of government; the nonsigning of the Union treaty; the nationalization of CPSU and Communist Youth League property; the holding of new elections to legislature; and the performance of military service entirely on the territory of the republic.

The students greeted the session's decision with approval and left October Revolution Square as heroes. Poetry and prose began to be composed in their honor. Not only that. In time the halos above the martyrs' heads began to assume forms that were totally different from the initial content. First it was oral folk poetry. Now the printed corroboration has appeared. In three issues the paper RADYANSKA UKRAINA published a series of reports entitled "'Hetmans,' Extras, and Wage Rates," abounding in serious food for thought.

It began with a mention of the scandalous incident in the October Revolution Square underpass, when Militia Colonel Grigoryev was attacked. As millions of television viewers saw, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] deputy S. Khmara organized the attack, led it, and participated himself in illegal actions.

The paper focused attention on the figure of the "martyr" whom Colonel Grigoryev had allegedly attacked. In front of the television cameras, at the actual place where the events had occurred, she explained that she had gone to her camp bed in the underpass because of... a sudden gastric hemorrhage. Then S. Khmara, addressing the Supreme Soviet session, passionately portrayed her as a victim of tyranny, and no ordinary one—she is, he said, a German citizen studying in Lvov, and she had been participating in the student hunger strike. Then the same S. Khmara accused the "martyr" of provoking the incident in the underpass at the KGB's instigation. That was after the Dneprodzerzhinsk corrective labor colony, during the television program, had recognized the "martyr" as citizen L. Zhirnaya, who had undergone "reeducation" there for numerous instances of theft, robbery, and even robbery with violence. The law-enforcement services are showing an interest in her at this very moment.

What does L. Zhirnaya have to do with the students participating in the political hunger-strike? L. Zhirnaya's own explanation is as follows: "It was in Kherson. I heard in the bazaar from some bums that there was a campaign there for the hunger-strike and they were offering 200 rubles (R) to people joining it. I approached the senior member of the group of campaigners, and there were about 10 of them. I myself called the senior member 'hetman.' We came to an agreement and I went in their car to Kiev, to October Revolution Square, where there were already some hunger strikers. I chose myself a tent near the edge, but the 'hetman' said there would be students around the edge, so he directed me to a tent in the center...."

A wise decision, of course—it is a risky business putting such "students" on show....

It was not looks they were paying money for. "In the morning," L. Zhirnaya continued with her revelations, "the 'hetman' came and said I had to earn my money. I asked what my work entailed. The 'hetman' explained that I had to bring more people to the hunger strike venue. I was given money... I traveled on a city excursion bus and suggested to the people: 'Let us take a look at the hunger strikers.' Many agreed. Once I even took a foreign delegation to the camp. One of its members, an elderly man, whose Russian was good, said to the hunger strikers: 'Someone ought to beat your ass....'"

Is L. Zhirnaya's evidence true? She was warned, RADYANSKA UKRAINA points out, that for deliberately giving false evidence she would be liable under certain articles of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code.

"After the hunger strike ended," L. Zhirnaya said, candid to the last, "I was summoned by the 'hetman.' He deducted money for food and lodging. He said that I had

R25 coming to me. I said that we had agreed on R200, and if I did not get it I would tell what kind of 'hunger-strike' it had been. I grabbed the megaphone and shouted: 'People!' But he took the megaphone off me and handed over R200 immediately. As I was leaving the camp the 'hetman' caught up with me and said: 'You will lie down in front of the tanks....' I asked him how much that was worth. He said: 'R200.' I agreed, whereupon he handed me the money."

That money had to be earned as well. That is why L. Zhirnaya was in the October Revolution Square underpass on 7 November.... The organizers of the protest against holding the 7 November military parade intended to cover the Kreshchatik with the bodies of these "kamikaze" people.

So what kind of "hunger strike" was it? Had the "hetman" not taken the megaphone off L. Zhirnaya the square would have heard back in October: "Come evening, life in the camp was different. They were drinking and eating practically everything. I was brought milk, bread, sweet tea, and toasted sandwiches. I actually saw people drinking vodka. From what I heard going on in the tents, I got the impression that people were leading active sexual lives. In fact, various young women used to join the hunger strikers and stay for the night. That is why one of the gypsies (a group of gypsies from Nikolayev was also at the 'student' camp) said that the hunger strikers needed to be examined not for malnutrition, but for venereal diseases."

Others added drug taking to the details of camp life. A Kiev technical college student, Yelena K., who eventually decided to join (out of a sense of solidarity) the hunger strikers, expressed bewilderment: "How can you combine lofty words about a 'free Ukraine' and 'democratic freedoms' by day with depravity by night. How are some people supposed to fast while their neighbors are boozing and taking drugs?"

Yelena K. was not the only one surprised by the discrepancy between the words of the coordinators of the action and the day-to-day realities. Valeriy G. at first believed that it was a fight for an idea. "Many things I could not take in," he admitted. "For example, I was told to go and invite people to join in the action. For this I was promised good grub and warm clothes for free.... How do you square this with the organization of the so-called hunger strike and the conditions regarding food, clothing, and so on.... That is, I mean that sure there were people in the camp who were actually fighting for something, but most of the people I saw there and know were there by chance and had no stake in any idea."

Young people got to the "hunger-strike" camp by various routes. Oleg O., a worker at a Kiev plant, took the bait because he was ripe for protest. As an Afghanistan veteran he was angered by the Kiev City Soviet decision to transfer housing to foreigners for hard currency....

"When I arrived there," Oleg O. recalled, "I was angry that it was not a camp where people where fasting, but a sink of depravity. I saw drunks among the hunger strikers...."

Alas, far more serious things were also going on. On the final day of the hunger strike one guy said to Oleg O. that some explosives had been brought into the camp in a briefcase. The briefcase was found. It contained mechanically activated Italian-made explosives. Somebody had slaughter on his mind. In fact, some days previously a nine-ton tank truck had been brought up to the Supreme Soviet building, they were starting to open the hatch, incendiary at the ready....

The organizers and actual coordinators of the "hunger strike" also had to admit not everything had turned out as they wished. When some Afghanistan veterans came to camp commandant Taras Korpalo offering to help, he greeted them with the folowing description: "We have a brothel here..." This was to be expected if they accepted anyone, to give the impression of a mass protest.

One of the organizers and leaders of the "hunger-strike," O. Doniy, confirmed that "the students were joined by other people for various periods during the hunger-strike...." If anyone could participate in the action, however, how can it be called a student action? Furthermore, why were "representatives of various parties and public organizations" constantly at the camp? In particular, S. Khmara, who is not only a Ukrainian SSR deputy, but also deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party [URP]. At the same time, the URP representatives in the legislature were using the hunger strike to inflame political passions, and they had some success. So it is clearer now who actually had a stake in the hunger strike, in causing a political ballyhoo.

Figuratively speaking, the "hunger strike" was supposed to act as a detonator to make events follow a "Romanian scenario." A calm perception of the action, however, did not give cause for resolute actions. What if something unforeseen were to occur or there were casualties. And "casualties" there were. One after the other.

L. Zhirnaya's confessions contain the following telling evidence: "At about 2100 one day in the middle of the hunger strike, one of the strikers was taken away for resuscitation. In the morning I had seen him running around the camp, but in the evening he collapsed. He was taken to hospital by ambulance.... His name was Rudenko.... During the night he came running into the camp in a hospital gown. Since my tent was next to his I could hear Rudenko telling the 'hetman' that the action including resuscitation cost R1,000, not R200.... The next day he bought himself some jeans, a Turkish sweater, and some sneakers. He did not return to hospital. They sent a certificate from the hospital. He was still angry that they had given him a certificate citing stress, and not the hunger strike."

The first "casualty" was followed to hospital by another five, one after the other, but the surprising thing is that as

soon as they got to hospital they demanded to be discharged. They were just simulating a "serious" condition, "by order," but it placed trump cards in the hands of those who were gambling on the "student" card. Then there were the hysterical and threatening statements in the legislature by opposition deputies: "Our children are dying out are dying out there!" The majority of legislators simply did not know how cleverly the "parents" and "kids" had tricked them during the tough political confrontation.

It has to be said that the "hunger strike" was a prearranged and skilfully orchestrated act of political pressure on the legislature. Pressure, in fact, of a particularly cynical nature, because the parental feelings of the people's deputies, feelings of humanity and charity were being exploited. In the end the legislators succumbed to the political pressure and adopted a resolution accepting the students' demands.

The opposition is methodically pressing for the implementation of this resolution, but we know from juridical practice that a suspect's confession cannot be considered true if it was obtained as a result of psychological coercion or brute force. Is this not a case in point? With hindsight it is clear that the "hunger strike" was a political way of twisting the republic government's and legislature's arm. So, RADYANSKA UKRAINA concludes, the Supreme Soviet resolution cannot be taken at its face value. If something is immoral it cannot be binding.

Greek Catholic Church Head Returns to Ukraine

PM0105153091 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 14-21 Apr 91 p 4

[Aleksandr Gurevich report: "The Ukraine: Exiled Cardinal's Homecoming"]

[Text] Cardinal Miroslav Ivan Lyubachivskiy, head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, flew from Rome to Lvov on a chartered Aeroflot plane on March 30. The Lvov City Soviet made him an honorary resident of Lvov and asked him to return for good to the Cathedral of St. Yur, the most important Greek Catholic Church in the Ukraine.

Residents of Lvov turned out at the airport in the thousands for a great welcome to their spiritual leader. From the airport the cavalcade headed for the Cathedral in downtown Lvov. At the entrance the Cardinal knelt and kissed the ground, the soil he had to leave 53 years ago as a young priest ordained by the then Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church, Andrey Sheptitskiy.

In September 1938 Lyubachivskiy left Lvov to continue his philosophical and theological studies in Catholic centres of Western Europe. His return to the Ukraine was first delayed by the Western Ukraine having been annexed to the USSR, which greatly worsened the positon of Greek Catholics. Then followed the years of German occupation, the death of Sheptitskiy, and Stalin's crackdown on the Greek Catholic Church in March 1946. The young theologican had to live long years in exile.

On Palm Sunday, March 31, Cardinal Lyubachinskiy and heads of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church who had arrived with him from the US, Canada, Australia, and France, and other visitors from abroad, attended the liturgy in the Cathedral of St. Yur. Then the Cardinal was greeted by thousands of believers gathered in the heart of Lvov.

In his address the Cardinal said: "Today sees the end of the epoch of sufferings and the beginning of the revival of our Church." He proclaimed unlawful the Lvov Church Council in 1946 that abolished the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church under pressure from the authorities.

The Cardinal was greeted on his homecoming by Chairman of the Lvov Regional Soviet Vyacheslav Chernovil, Metropolitan Vladimir Sternyuk, papal ambassador to the USSR Francesco Colasuonno and other church and public leaders. The Cardinal's immediate programme includes official visits, meetings with the clergy, news conferences, and the celebration of Easter. He will also go to visit Kiev, Ternopol, Ivano-Frankovsk, Uzhgorod, and plans a visit to the place where he was born, the small town of Dolina in the foothills of the Carpathians.

Lvov will again be the seat of the head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Getting rid of the Stalin regime's heritage the Ukraine's spiritual life is on the road to normalcy. Despite the fact that the process is moving with difficulty, it gives believers of all faiths hope that they will be able to live together in peace and harmony.

Two Jailed in Odessa for Diverting Fuel

PM3004090191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Apr 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by A. Vengruk and V. Zaytsev]

[Text] [Vengruk] You cannot live on petrodollars for long. Everyone knows this now. However, Vitaliy Yermachenko and Sergey Nepomyashchiy, employees of the Odessa enterprise for the supply of petroleum products, have clearly learned nothing from the bitter experience of the state.

They came to an arrangement with a Greek company to supply it with as much fuel as it wanted. In the course of a year they managed to let it have almost 750 tonnes of stolen fuel, obtaining in return $2,600, plus a regular supply of whisky and cigarettes.

However, having shown great resourcefulness in understating fuel volumes, pumping fuel from transport tanks

into ships' tanks, raising its temperature, etc., the speculators proved poor businessmen.

At the very beginning of the investigation, Odessa Oblast KGB Administration staffers managed to collect from the foreign company around $100,000 which it had underpaid.

The court authorities for their part evaluated the talent of the would-be entrepreneurs by sentencing Yermachenko to 10 years and Nepomyashchiy to five years imprisonment in an intensified-regime correctional-labor colony, confiscation of property, and repayment of the damage caused.

It appears that an appeal is to be lodged. However, $101,663 have already been paid into the state's coffers.

Caucasus

Clashes Intensify Between Armenia-Azerbaijan

'Wide-Ranging' Operation Noted

NC3004191291 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] The towns of Chaykend and Matemashan in the Khanlarskiy Rayon are fully under the control of the Azerbaijan Republic's law enforcement agencies.

These agencies carried out a wide-ranging operation today to disarm and disband Armenian banditry groups which have acted in a ferocious way and committed acts of terrorism against the people of the two towns.

The armed Armenians strongly resisted the government forces in serious clashes. The criminal activities of the bandits were halted, however, due to the ability and resolute stand of the law enforcement organs. More than 15 bandits were killed and 14 more were wounded in the clashes. Twenty buildings the bandits used as their support centers and hideouts were stormed.

Four militia employees were slightly wounded during the operations. Forty-five thoughtless individuals were arrested and rendered harmless along with the armed men. Three grenade launchers, 48 grenades, 15 handmade antitank mines, 85 firearms and cold weapons, a [word indistinct] automobile, and three [word indistinct] vehicles were seized from the criminal groups. In addition, 200 head of cattle which were stolen from the Arnabil town were taken back.

The operation launched to remove the Armenian extremists and nationalists from the territory of the Khanlarskiy Rayon in the Azerbaijan Republic continues as of this report. A wide-ranging passport operation has been put into effect in order to check identity cards. The helicopter flights from Armenia have been obstructed as well.

Armenians Protest to Pugo

PM0105134591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 May 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the Armenian MVD"]

[Text] The Armenian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has sent a telegram to USSR Internal Affairs Minister B. Pugo, to the effect that Azerbaijan is "pursuing an undisguised anti-Armenian policy and is ready to unleash a real civil war," ARMENPRESS has reported.

The telegram maintains that Azerbaijan President A. Mutalibov held a conference 16 April with the participation of leaders of the republic KGB and law-enforcement organs, at which he insisted on the withdrawal of Internal Troops from Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, Getashen, and Martunashen and proposed appointing Azerbaijani officers as commandants of those rayons. He demands that the inhabitants of the said rayons observe the Azerbaijan Constitution. It is proposed to withdraw the Soviet Army and Internal Troops subunits from the entire territory of Karabakh and the said rayons, replacing them with special-purpose militia detachment units, and only after this to hold local soviet elections. In the event of disobedience, Mutalibov threatens to deport the Armenian population.

The telegram states that right after A. Mutalibov's appearance on Azerbaijan television on the evening of 27 April the Armenian border territory came under fire from the villages of Sadarak in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Kheyrymly in Kazakhskiy Rayon, and Dzhagazur in Azerbaijan's Lachinskiy Rayon—as a result of which several people received bullet wounds.

"The blockade of Azerbaijan's Getashenskiy subrayon is continuing. Food stocks are running out there. All aid for the starving Armenian population has been prohibited. Things are moving purposefully toward its deportation," the telegram maintains.

Assistance to Starving People Prohibited

NC0105141791 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Yerevan, 30 Apr (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] has sent the following cable to USSR Internal Affair Minister Boris Pugo:

Azerbaijani President Mutalibov held a consultative meeting with the Azerbaijani Committee for State Security and law enforcement organs on 16 April 1991. At the meeting, he demanded that the troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry be withdrawn from Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, Getashen, and Martunashen, and proposed that Azerbaijani officers be appointed as military commandants in these regions. He called on residents of these areas to submit to the Azerbaijani Constitution,

and proposed that the Soviet Army and Internal Affairs Ministry troops be withdrawn from the entire territory of Nagorno-Karabakh and the abovementioned regions and replaced by the Azerbaijani special purpose militia. He said that only after this would elections for local councils be held. He threatened that Armenians would be forcibly deported if they failed to comply with these measures.

Mutalibov wants to use the forces of the 23d Division of the Fourth Army, in which as he himself acknowledges Azerbaijanis make up more than 60 percent, to police the Azerbaijani-Armenian border region in Gorisskiy, Kapanskiy, and Vardenisskiy Rayons.

Mutalibov's speech on Azerbaijani television on 27 April was pervaded by the same spirit. Soon after he gave this speech, Armenian border regions came under fire from the direction of Sadarak in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, Kheyrimli in Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon, and Dzhaygazur in Lachinskiy Rayon. As a result of these attacks, two people suffered gunshot wounds while traveling by car near Tigranashen and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons. A total of 700 farm animals and two farmers were taken from Kornidzor village in Gorisskiy to Lachinskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan. A freight train was fired on at Norashen-Velidag junction.

On 28 April a group of armed Azerbaijanis blocked off a section of the Kapan-Gazanchi with rocks and ambushed a patrol car belonging to Kapan's state automobile department.

The siege of Getashen subrayon in Azerbaijan is continuing. The few remaining stocks of food are being depleted. Any sort of assistance to the starving Armenian people there is prohibited. Matters are moving toward the forced deportation of the Armenian population.

Armenia Appeals to Yeltsin on Aid

LD0105131591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Correspondent Koryun Khumorayn has reported today from Yerevan, especially for us, that at 1800 yesterday members of the Azerbaijan OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] together with troops of the Soviet Army attacked the Armenian village of Getashen. A short-wave radio transmitter broadcast at 2120 on 30 April said that troops and OMON members burst into the village and carried out pogroms there. Of the self-defense forces, 23 persons had already died by that time, and dozens had been injured. By midnight, Getashen's detachments of self-defense forces were forced to leave the village. According to unverified information, 27 Armenian defense guards were killed in the fight. The village, which is inhabited by 3,000 Armenians, has been fully occupied by troops and OMON members. The short-wave transmitter has fallen silent.

This is how the (SNART) news agency described the situation there:

Clouds of thick smoke are rising above the Armenian village of Getashen, situated near the border with Nagorno-Karabakh. On Tuesday morning, Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs burst in, having first shelled the village from artillery guns. I have only seen such things in war films, declared Babken Arrktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, who flew during the day to the combat area by helicopter. Dozens of houses are on fire and some 30 villagers have been taken hostage. The military did not permit the parliament's representative even to meet with village residents and to hand over to them food so badly needed by the beseiged people of Getashen.

We have just received information from Armenian Council of Ministers Chairman Vazgen Manukyan. According to him, USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov has forbidden helicopter flights to provide medical aid to the villagers of Getashen. Armenian Council of Ministers Chairman Vazgen Manukyan believes that only Boris Yeltsin can help in this situation and asks him to call the government"s telephone number V/CH.2765 at any time to hold consultations with the Armenian Government.

Ter-Petrosyan Wants Pullout From Getashen

NC0205090991 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium met on 1 May under Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and many deputies of the Supreme Soviet took part in the meeting.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan briefed the meeting on the operations in Getashen, Martunashen, and all along the Armenian-Azerbaijani border and on the measures being taken to stabilize the situation. He noted that an agreement has been reached to send four helicopters to Getashen to evacuate the wounded and distribute food to the population.

Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan gave a general assessment of the situation and provided additional information. He concentrated on the serious political steps to be taken in the future. He also answered questions.

Members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium Babken Ararktsyan, Gagik Arutyunyan, Rafayel Gazaryan, Davit Vardanyan, Sargis Muradyan, Seyran Bagdasaryan, Khachik Stamboltsyan; deputies Ashot Navasardyan, Vano Siradegyan, Mekhak Gabrielyan, Grant Khachatryan, Azat Arshakyan, Suren Zolyan, and others took part in the exchange of views. Many practical proposals were made to get the situation under control.

The meeting also discussed other organizational matters for adopting the necessary political measures to ensure the security of the republic's regions and other Armenian-inhabited areas.

Summarizing the results of the meeting, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, enumerated clearly the stance of the republic's leadership on these matters. He specifically noted that all political levers should utilized to prevent the subunits of the Internal Troops from entering Getashen and Martunashen. Otherwise, any breach of the status quo would set off a chain reaction in both republics. This has been clearly conveyed on many occasions to the highest leadership of the USSR.

It was decided that the republican Temporary Council on Emergency Situation, which is made up of members of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, will convene its next meeting after viewing the incoming information with the aim of (?documenting) the operative situation.

Armenia Calls Aggression 'State Terrorism'

LD0105150491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] In connection with the prewar situation that has developed in Nagornyy Karabakh, in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon (in the Getashenskiy subrayon), and in the Armenian zone near Azerbaijan, the Supreme Soviet of the republic has passed a statement which says, in part:

The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia regards the policy being pursued by the USSR central authorities of drawing Armenia into war as a policy of state terrorism regarding the Armenian people and its lawful bodies and the acts being carried out as aggression against the Republic of Armenia. It declares that all responsibility for the further exacerbation of the situation and its consequences is borne by the USSR president, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Ministries of Defense and Internal Affairs of the USSR, and the USSR Committee for State Security. The Supreme Soviet of Armenia demands the immediate convening of an extraordinary session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies as an essential means for getting out of the situation that has developed.

Faced with increasing danger, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia, the statement continues, appeals to the people, legislature, and governments of world states, to the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics, and to all people of goodwill, calling for all efforts to be taken to halt the aggressive acts against the Armenian people.

The statement I have just read out was circulated by the (SNART) News Agency.

Armenia-Azerbaijan Clashes Detailed

LD0105155991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] In our first news broadcast I informed you in considerable detail about the (?events) in Armenia in connection with (?the invasion) by internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Armenian village of Getashen, which is situated near the border with Nagorno-Karabakh. To give us a clearer picture, Koryun Khumoryan, the correspondent of all-Union radio has agreed to give a more detailed account of this especially for Russia's Radio. He is on the phone now. Over to you, Koryun.

[Khumoryan] Hello. Yerevan is again seething with passion. Worrisome information is coming from Nagorno-Karabakh, Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, Getashen. There is trouble all along the 800 km-long border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The village of (Volchyi Pars) in (Noyemberyanskiy) Rayon in Armenia is almost completely surrounded by Azerbaijani OMON [special purpose militia detachment] troops. Any movement here, any attempt to get out of the village or to evacuate the children to a safer place comes under artillery and machinegun fire.

Large concentrations of Azerbaijani armed formations can be seen at the (Kremovo) (?bridge) separating Idzhevanskiy Rayon in Armenia from Kazakhskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan, in the Armenian village of Khachik in Yekhegnadzorskiy Rayon, and in the village of Chinari in Shamshadinskiy Rayon of Armenia. In the territory of Azerbaijan contiguous with Yekhegnadzorskiy Rayon of Armenia, troops from the Soviet Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs are digging trenches.

I received all this information half an hour ago in the duty section of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Armenia.

A rally is planned for 1900 Moscow time in the theater square in Yerevan. It has been summoned by representatives of all public and political organisations active in Armenia.

The situation that has arisen in the region will also be discussed by the leadership of the republic today. They will sketch out specific steps to overcome the crisis.

As you know, a statement was made yesterday by the republican Supreme Soviet in connection with the escalation of tension in the region. The policy of the center aimed at dragging Armenia into war is described in the statement as a policy of state terrorism toward the Armenian people and their legitimate authorities, and practical actions in that direction are viewed as an act of aggression against the Republic of Armenia.

All responsibility for the further aggravation of the situation lies with the president and Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the ministries of defense and internal affairs, and also the USSR KGB, the statement says.

Today, Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, spoke on (?the morning) program of Armenian television, analyzing the situation in the region. He said that yesterday he contacted KGB

Chairman Kryuchkov, who said that the country's leadership knows about the situation in Getashen, and that there is to be a meeting of the Security Council to discuss the question.

The chairman of the republican Council of Ministers was unable to contact Moscow again to find out the results of the meeting, but he is inclined to link the further aggravation of the situation in Getashen, its frontal [word indistinct] and seizure by Azerbaijani OMON men and USSR Ministry of the Interior troops, with the results of this security council session.

At the same time, Manukyan said, I do not consider the situation in Getashen (?to be tragic). There is a possibility of sending several helicopters to Getashen to evacuate the wounded.

But I have just been informed by the head of the transport services at [word indistinct] airport that helicopters have not in fact left for Getashen with doctors and medicine, and will not do so because they have not received permission from the USSR Ministry of Defense.

So there you have the May Day news from Armenia.

Soldiers Taken Hostage in Azerbaijan

LD0105142491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1309 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Stepanakert, 1 May (TASS)—On Tuesday 14 soldiers were taken hostage by Armenian guerrillas near the village of Chaykend in Azerbaijan, according to the AZERINFORM News Agency quoting the republic's KGB.

During an operation to check on passports and disarm illegal paramilitary formations in Khanlar District of Azerbaijan, a combined force of republican militia and USSR Interior Ministry troops encountered extremely fierce resistance from guerrillas in the villages of Martunashen and Chaykend.

An armored personnel carrier [APC] that had become separated from a column of vehicles moving along a highway was stopped by women and children who had been posted there by bandits. As soon as the hatch was opened by an officer intending to appeal to the crowd surrounding the vehicle to be reasonable, the guerrillas surged forward and threatened to blow up both the APC and its occupants with grenades. Then the hostages were seized.

For this reason, the operation to reimpose order in Khanlar District has been suspended, AZERINFORM reports.

Azerbaijan Captures 45 Armenians

LD0105213191 Moscow Central Television First Program in Russian 1800 GMT 1 May 91

[Report by Correspondent M. Mamedov in Baku on 1 May; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Baku today there were no festive demonstrations and manifestations. You see, the city, like at least half the republics, lives and works in conditions of a state of emergency. But the capital of Azerbaijan, as was the case in past years, was adorned with red flags. True, the mood of the residents of Baku is by no means festive. It is not only the price rises and the shortages of food and goods that are to blame, for this situation, but also the undeclared war on the border with Armenia, which is intensifying. Despite the statement of the president of the Azerbaijani Republic that the patience of our people is not without limits, yesterday villages in Kazakhskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan were again subjected to missile attacks. And in the neighboring Khanlarskiy Rayon near the village of (Chaykinka), 45 fighters who had arrived from Armenia were captured. Mortars, automatic weapons, knives, radio receivers, and a Ural military vehicle without number plates were confiscated from them.

Unfortunately, in the course of that operation the bandits managed, by making use of women and children, to seize 14 hostages—servicemen—one of whom, an Azerbaijani, member of the staff of the republics' OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], was killed today. These so-called fighters are exercising physical and moral terror, not only toward Azerbaijanis, but also to the residents of the Armenian village of (Cheyki).

But for all that, the Azerbaijanis are optimists by nature. They are convined that in a joint effort they will overcome all the misfortunes and difficulties, even this undeclared war, all the more so since the May Day holiday means spring and hope.

Azerbaijani Attacks Reported

NC0105085791 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0400 GMT 1 May 91

[Statement Issued by the Press Center of the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry]

[Excerpts] On the night of 30 April Azerbaijanis and soldiers, armed with battlefield and automatic weapons of various caliber, fired heavily from the direction of (?Verin Arkipar), (?Nerkin Arkipar), Vaganis, Ayrum, and (?Kremlu) villages in Kazakhskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan on the village of Voskepar in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon and on the villages of Tsakhkavan and Getashen in Idzhevanskiy Rayon in Armenia.

The firing continued intermittently until 0400. The residents of Voskepar village were forced to abandon their houses on the outskirts of the village, and they tried to evacuate the women and children. The Azerbaijanis

kept the evacuation route under fire, preventing a full evacuation. Some of the residents escaped into the forest, hiding until late in the evening. The entrance to Voskepar village was closed off by an (?armored) car. The cars that arrived to evacuate the population were subjected to artillery fire, making the rescue work very difficult. A militia worker escorting children was injured. [passage omitted] The Internal Troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry stationed at Voskepar village did not intervene in the military operations.

At 1220 two helicopters flew over Voskepar village. One of them fired a missile on the village. There is no information about damages and casualties because it is not possible to visit every part of the village. The shooting resumes each time the people make a move. The situation remains extremely tense.

At 1720 the soldiers fired (?shells) from tanks on Artavan village from (?Kremlu) village.

Struggle Continuing in Getashen

NC0205093291 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 2 May 91

[From the review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN]

[Text] Under the headline, The Struggle of Getashen Will Be Written in Golden Letters in our People's History, the paper publishes the speech that Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic Council of Ministers, made on Armenian television on 1 May 1991.

In his speech he said: What is the situation there now? The army has entered Getashen. According to our information, (?12) people were killed in Getashen; five of them (?were from Martunashen). The situation is very tragic. But to tell the truth, I do not consider this to be so. What the people of Getashen are doing is heroic. Now, 12 soldiers are hostages of the Getashen people. That is, though the army has entered Getashen, it is unable to free its own members taken hostage. The struggle is continuing. This is not a (?grief) or tragedy but [word indistinct].

Combat Units to Southern Armenia

NC0205094191 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 2 May 91

[From the review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN]

[Text] The paper reports that in view of the exacerbation of the situation in the Azerbaijani border regions, two operative combat units of the Armenian Republic's Committee for State Security were alerted on the night of 30 April. After being equipped with full combat gear, they were sent to [word indistinct] Gorisskiy Rayon.

[Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 1730 GMT on 1 May reports continued border tension and cases of shooting into the Armenia's Idzhevanskiy Rayon. It adds that "the shootings are spreading over a wider area," and that "tanks are also being used and there are wounded." Azerbaijani attacks into other Armenian rayons are also reported.]

Nagorno-Karabakh Refuses Document

NC0105134691 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0400 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Armenians in Gadrutskiy Rayon in Nagorno-Karabakh are experiencing critical moments. Subunits of the USSR Internal Troops, in cooperation with officers from the Azerbaijani special purpose militia, carried out passport control measures in a number of settlements today.

According to information being received, the troops tried to force residents to sign papers which stated: I promise to abide by the Constitutions of the USSR and the Azerbaijani Republic, not to hide arms or terrorists, not to provoke interethnic enmity, and to do everything possible for the reestablishment of good-neighborly relations, peace, and tranquillity.

This sounds familiar, does it not? We are no longer surprised at the methods adopted in the neighboring republic to resolve interethnic problems. As we see, Azerbaijan, acting in the spirit of the stagnation period, is continuing its massive distortion of facts. Moscow is, at best, totally ignoring this.

KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH paper reports that the Armenians in the region are not succumbing to this provocation and are not signing the so-called document. They rightly believe that a people's views are expressed through a referendum and not by the use of force. As the Azerbaijanis continue to fail to understand this truth, the desired peace and tranquillity will not come to Nagorno-Karabakh.

Grisha Zakaryan, a resident of [name indistinct] village in Askeranskiy Rayon, suffered gunshot wounds on 29 April. At 1830 on the same day, unidentified persons fired at the Azerbaijani village of Imeret-Gerevend in Mardakertskiy Rayon. A 40-year-old [word indistinct] was wounded.

Three hours later, unidentified persons blew up a bridge at the km 34 marker on the Agdam-Fizuli road near the town of Martuni, temporarily disrupting transportation.

Armenia Seeks Extraordinary Congress

PM0105162391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 May 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, REUTER, INTERFAX column: "Armenian Government Statement"]

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet is insisting on its demand for the immediate convening of an extraordinary sitting of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. This, TASS reports, is what is contained in a statement adopted by the republic's legislature, in connection with the worsening of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Armenian-populated regions of Azerbaijan, and on the border between the two republics.

Yesterday's evening sitting also adopted a decision on the formation of an interim republic council on the emergency situation. The council is empowered to adopt decisions to safeguard the republic's security and normal activity, decisions which will be binding throughout Armenian territory. The council has held its first sitting.

Armenian Party Ready for Compromise on Property

NC0105134591 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Yerevan, 30 Apr (ARMENPRES)—The third stage of the 29th Congress of the Armenian Communist Party took place on 27 April after a five-month recess. Only 299 of the 414 delegates attended. Thirteen delegates left the party after the second stage of the congress, and 20 refused to participate in the congress' work.

The atmosphere became heated during the discussion of party property. Stepan Pogosyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, briefed the congress on his talks with the republic's leadership, and noted that compromise is the only option under present circumstances. If the congress refused to endorse this course, and Moscow became involved in the dispute over property as a result, then the party leadership would resign.

The fact that Moscow did not attach much importance to the Armenian Communist Party congress was clear from the outset. Oleg Shenin, a member of the CPSU Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had taken part in the first two stages of the congress, but the center only dispatched a mere organizer to attend the third stage.

The delegates debated the draft until late at night and eventually came to the conclusion that if the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet reconsiders its 17 April decision on the nationalization of property belonging to the party and the former Leninist Communist Youth League, then the communists are prepared to reach a compromise.

With this, the Armenian Communist Party congress concluded its work.

Appeal on Decision Denied

LD0105134191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1053 GMT 1 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan 1 May (TASS)—The Armenian Supreme Soviet has declined the request of the 29th congress of the Armenian Communist Party to reexamine the decision on the nationalization of its property, which was adopted in April. Gurgen Ambaryan, head of the press service of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, told a TASS correspondent that this morning representatives of a specially set up commission of the Yerevan city soviet executive committee suggested to the Central Committee apparatus workers that they vacate the premises of the Central Committee, and they had to obey.

The decision on the nationalization of the property of the Armenian Communist Party was adopted by the Armenian legislature on 17 April. The plenum of the Armenian communist Party Central Committee and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee voiced protest and disagreement regarding these decisions. The USSR president described the decision of the Armenian legislature in his decree as "anticonstitutional" and deemed it to have no legal power.

May Day Festivities in Azerbaijan Reported

LD0105181291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network Russian 1500 GMT 1 May 91

[Excerpts] Today the traditional festive May Day garb in the towns and villages of Azerbaijan was somewhat more modest than in past years. Although the curfew has been lifted, the state of emergency is still in effect. Therefore the towns and cities are adorned with new national flags, blue and red and green flags bearing the crescent moon and the eight-pointed star. There were no mass processions or rallies. But there were a lot of people in the streets and squares. [passage omitted]

On Sunday the cotton sowing ended. The haymaking started. The work of the industrial enterprises continuing.

The presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet supported the results of the meeting in Moscow between the USSR president and the nine republics.

Azerbaijan President Mutalibov Interviewed

PM2604105391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 91 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Republic, by Vasif Samedov, KOMMUNIST correspondent, for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA; date and place not given: "We Stand on Soil of Realism"]

[Text] [Samedov] Fierce political confrontation, conflicts and extreme situations in other republics and regions of the country have recently to a certain extent diverted public attention from those processes which are taking place in Azerbaijan. Is this the result of the fact that a certain pause has arisen in the republic in sociopolitical life?

[Mutalibov] The opinion that such a pause exists hardly corresponds to reality. It is probably formed because of the fact that the graphic manifestations, so to speak, of sociopolitical life which meetings, demonstrations, and strikes are now deemed to be are not to be observed in our republic. Yet you must agree that the depth of democratic processes is sometimes judged by these manifestations although I do not support this way of putting the question. Nor do I share the emotion of some supporters of this kind of democracy who naively suppose that the access of a once "stable" country to the purely external attributes of Western democracy is nothing other than democracy itself. Moreover, I regard as extremely harmful that manifestation of democracy which suits those who, skillfully exploiting the problems of our life, want only one thing—to politicize the masses with a view to confrontation with the authorities. A simplistic approach toward the problem of the working people's expression of their will—in the form of strikes as a means of resolving labor conflicts—involuntarily aggravate the people's already sorry plight.

You ask against whom is all this—the meetings, the strikes, the hunger strikes, the demonstrations? Has a powerful bourgeoisie really already appeared in our republic, with an enormous capital and enormous property (not to be confused with those employed in the shadow economy!) against which the working people should be roused. It certainly has not!

Those who take advantage of the people's undoubtedly grave plight and their natural dissatisfaction to prompt people to go out onto the squares are well aware of the real reasons for the economic crisis. They also understand well that the state has no possibility of satisfying the working people's entirely legitimate demands. Or the miners' demands. Obviously they have one aim: striking against the authorities' prestige, which has already substantially declined as a result of unpopular economic innovations which are nonetheless inevitable in the transitional period.

But it must be understood that the unrealized manifestation of such a large-scale strike movement is aimed against the state as a whole. In the West tough protective laws operate in such cases. Let us recall how Margaret Thatcher behaved in the case of the British miners' strike. Let the miners not take offense. But after all they cannot claim that the Caspian oil workers live better than they do.

Perhaps this will seem undemocratic but to those who interpret the situation which has taken shape in Azerbaijan as the people's indifference I want to say: The present tense calm is the result of daily explanatory work. People realize that benefits will not come of their own accord, they must create them with their own hands. For that reason the inflammatory actions of some "champions" of the people are as a rule resolutely condemned and not supported.

Unfortunately we cannot speak of the establishment of a "pause" in the development of the Karabakh conflict. Having become the instrument for the implementation of the political aims of opposing groupings, the Nagorno-Karabakh problem imposed on the Azerbaijani people is still being actively exploited. With the advent of spring the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and on the border with Armenia has again been sharply aggravated. Again blood is being shed, people are dying, and again there are fierce attacks by Armenian bandit formations armed to the teeth against our border villages and military posts. Nationalists and separatists, sensing that time is not on their side, are trying to make their presence felt again and to revive their anticonstitutional designs.

The people are already immeasurably tired of this instability, of the inconsistency and lack of resolve of the center. Although I should note that our restraint is not failing us. We have patiently undertaken and will continue to undertake the most vigorous steps to introduce order and to restore in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast civil peace and consensus, the path to which lies through the disarmament of the terrorists and their complete neutralization. After all it is they who are impeding the normalization of the situation in the region. This fact is well known to everyone. But some people are very reluctant to extinguish the smoldering fire. Unfortunately, the servicemen are also hostages to this dirty game by politics mongers behind the scenes.

But, as the folk saying has it, friends come and go, but neighbors are from God. History has predetermined that the two people who live alongside each other. And what their relations become today largely depends on certain forces in Armenia and their patrons in the center. But let some bellicose nationalists who count on achieving their goals by force make no mistake. They will not achieve this.

In our daily practical activity we are directing our efforts toward the implementation of the ideas of independence and the filling of the republic's sovereignty with new content. These are postulates whose value lies not in theoretical declarations but in their consistent practical assertion in all spheres of life.

As for political diversity, it really exists in the republic's public life. The main thing for which we are striving is that the clash of ideas and opinions should take place within a civilized constitutional framework and that the political struggle should increasingly acquire parliamentary, constructive forms.

[Samedov] The all-Union referendum has taken place, ahead is the conclusion of the new Union treaty. In that sense how do you see the future changes? What will change in relations between the republics and the Center?

[Mutalibov] First of all I want to stress that however we may calculate, however we sum up the achievements and problems of recent years, they cannot be compared with

the catastrophic consequences of the uncontrolled collapse of the Soviet state—the world-historical, economic, and geopolitical consequences. The breaking up of what, whether bad or good, has for many years been our home, the breaking up of everything which has until now been called the Union, is taking place to the advantage of a handful of newfound politics mongers but counter to the will of millions of people. An enormous mass of the multinational people is now deeply convinced that the achievements of perestroyka are nothing without the Union. That, in my view, is the tragedy and political thrust of the current moment.

Yes, today we have many serious complaints to level against the center. It is hard to explain to the people why the country's leadership is uncompromising when, for instance, it decide in one night to freeze deposits in savings banks and to carry out an exchange of bank notes in the course of three days. At the same time for many years it has failed to find the strength to put in their place the handful of unbridled separatists and nationalists who are pushing the people into a bloody war and have brought the country to territorial disintegration and economic chaos. History knows of no example of the central authorities tolerating the recarving of the borders of a single state and its partition. In our country for a long time attempts were made to make out that separatism is patriotism and that overt territorial claims are a nation's self-determination.

We must not ask anyone for protection or be beholden, so to speak, to the center, when it is a case of the flouting of the sovereign republic's territorial integrity. In the new Union there should be firm guarantees that if the security of an entire people is threatened then a mechanism and the relevant structures automatically come into operation to resolutely halt any anticonstitutional attempts and criminal actions. Today there are no such guarantees, as is borne out by the endless appeals to the center, which essentially remain without a response. As a result you form the impression that the republic lacks even elementary sovereignty. This attitude on the part of the present center makes me personally have profound doubts as to changes for the better when the new Union treaty is signed.

Incidentally, if we had put in the referendum ballot slip the question of the assessment by the republic's population of the measures which the center is taking to protect their security, then all those who voted for the Union would have expressed themselves categorically against that concept of security. I am sure that without the solution of this fundamental issue public opinion could change in a different direction.

We are not against a new treaty. We need it if only because after so many years of arguments about the sovereignty of the union republics we must finally find our position with regard to this concept. But I do not think that the new treaty is a panacea for our present troubles since economic problems have roots common to the whole country and will remain for a long time yet in each republic, even after the treaty has been signed.

The question nonetheless arises: What, the Union no longer exists, has the present treaty already been annulled? So they have held a referendum. So what? There have been strikes. But what will change after the conclusion of the new Union treaty? After all, at the beginning of the year the republics signed an economic agreement. Essentially this was the economic part of the Union treaty. But it is not being fulfilled. It is an unpleasant fact, but nonetheless a fact. It is primarily to the discredit of the leaders of the republics who for so long have sought the primacy of horizontal relations. When they were able to achieve this they made a mess of the whole business. Consequently it is not a question of treaties. So what is it a question of?

I am deeply convinced that the whole point is that during the years of perestroyka by virtue of certain political differences there has been a change in relations between the republics and in each of them the authority of the law has declined drastically. Now their own laws have appeared. How is it possible to fail to notice this or to pretend that everything is proceeding as before?

The referendum, as I have already said, determined the will of the people of Azerbaijan on the question of preserving a single Union. We are in favor of a genuinely renewed, reconstructed Union in which each republic will be able to realize its sovereignty. We are in favor of the conservation and consolidation of interrepublican economic and other mutual ties. We are in favor of the republics' real, not verbal, freedom and independence. The idea of independence is far from alien to us. But we stand firmly on the soil of realism, rejecting separatism and nationalism in any garb. And we demand firm guarantees of the territorial integrity of the republic and the security of its people. That is our principled position and our vision of the prospects for the further democratic development of the multinational Soviet state.

[Samedov] The question of retaining the Union Army perturbs not only the military today. How do you see the Armed Forces of the renewed Union? How, in your view, should the draft of young citizens of the republic into the army and their service in the navy, air force, airborne troops, and strategic missile troops be implemented?

[Mutalibov] I am firmly convinced that both today and in the renewed Union we need unified, strong, well equipped, and professionally trained armed forces. The departure of any republic from the military-political roof of the Union will mean a new military-political situation in that specific region. There are already examples of that, including in the Transcaucasus.

And another, purely economic, aspect. It is an open secret that the creation and maintenance of national military formations will require substantial funds and that, you will agree, is beyond the power of even the most developed republic. That is why populist appeals of this nature can bring our peoples nothing but harm.

Naturally, the army should be reformed together with our society, assuming a professional footing more actively. As part of our society the army also contains many of its shortcomings. There is a painful topic which also cannot be bypassed in this talk. The army is the army, and as is known in it orders are not discussed but fulfilled. And of course it is not the soldiers who bear responsibility for cases of tyranny perpetrated during the tragic events in Baku. But nonetheless a truly popular army, such as we have grown accustomed to regard our armed forces, cannot fail to relate the letter of the statutes to the moral law when it is a case of mutual relations with their own people. Although, of course, that is not a pretext for discrediting the army wholesale, not a reason for the shameless anti-army campaign launched recently in certain circles and for certain purposes.

I want to take this opportunity to voice from the pages of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA my sincere thanks to the servicemen who, displaying genuine courage and selflessness, are rendering us great assistance in resisting the armed aggression of the neighboring republic. The people of Azerbaijan will never forget the names of those who in peace time, at the price of their own lives, defended women, children, and old men from the reprisals of the unbridled bandits.

Knowing how acutely social problems stand now in the armed forces, we in the republic will continue to do everything possible to create normal conditions for the life of the servicemen and members of their families. This was discussed in particular at the recent session of the Azerbaijan Republic's Defense Council.

In renewing the Union it is undoubtedly essential also to raise the republics' role in ensuring its defense with a consideration for the growth of their independence. Of course, it seems to me that representatives of all the Union republics should serve in the categories of troops you cited, which bear the main brunt of ensuring our country's security.

It is gratifying that recently there has been an increasing number of Azerbaijanis—pilots, missile men, and seamen—in the officers corps. The absolute majority of young mean drafted to active service from our republic fulfill their military duty honorably. At the same time proposals that some draftees be left to serve on the republic's territory deserve attention. We are already working in this direction in conjunction with the central military organs. I think it would be wrong to reject out of hand the question of introducing alternative service.

In brief, the reform of the armed forces is not a narrow departmental task but the business and concern of all peoples of our country.

Central Asia

May Day Celebrations Held in Central Asia

LD0105165291 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 1 TASS—"For peace, solidarity and progress" was the motto that united today Alma-Ata residents holding various politicial views. They believe that the republic needs civil peace and accord.

This was the reason for many of them to participate in the May Day demonstration. Marchers bore posters reading "Let us pull the country out of crisis", "Long live real sovereignty of republics" and "Union treaty to the country and peace to world nations".

Residents of Ashkhabad came to the May Day demonstration in the hope for the better future and for a stronger Soviet multinational state, friendship and fraternity of its nations.

"There are many young people among holiday demonstrators today," Dortkuliy Gurbanov, chairman of the republican student council at the Turkmenian president [as received], told TASS here today.

"This graphically shows that both people of older generations and young people hold near and dear May Day traditions," he stressed.

Thousands of people today participated in the May Day rally in the Vladimir Lenin square in downtown Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan.

The central platform usually occupied by the republican leaders, was today reserved for labour veterans, workers, scholars and men of culture.

A group of all-union legislators, legislators of the Tajik Republic, as well as heroes of the Soviet Union and of socialist labour, war and labour veterans marched at the head of the May Day demonstration in Dushanbe, capital of Tadzhikistan.

May Day events were also held in many other cities of Soviet Central Asia.

Muslim Leadership Appeals to Servicemen

PM2904152791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Clergy Appeals to Servicemen"]

[Text] The leadership of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan issued an appeal to Soviet Army draftees and servicemen 25 April.

Representatives of the Muslim peoples also serve in the Army's ranks, the appeal says. By their conscientious service and supreme discipline they increase the honor

and glory of the Soviet Army and delight their commanders and relatives. However, there are also, regrettably, those who perform their duty in an unconscientious manner and disgrace the title of defender of the motherland. Expressing their anxiety, leaders of the clergy recall that this kind of attitude to military service is considered a great sin in Islam: Religion urges believers to defend their country.

The appeal expresses the wish that "our sons who are drafted to serve in Army ranks will perform their duty honestly and conscientiously, with supreme skill, and return home safe and well."

Osh Obkom Elects New First Secretary

PM0105112791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 May 91 Second Edition p 2

[KIRTAG-TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Bishkek, 30 Apr—An organizational question has been examined at a plenum of the Kyrgyzstan Communist Party Obkom [Oblast Committee] held in Osh. The plenum met U. Sydykov's request to be released from his duties as obkom first secretary.

M. Kaparov, who was working previously as secretary of the same obkom, was elected the new party leader of Osh Oblast on a multiple-candidate basis.

The plenum was addressed by D. Amanbayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kyrgyzstan Communist Party Central Committee.

New Asia-TV Company Set up in Kazakhstan

LD2604231691 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 26 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Almat Temirbekov]

[Text] Alma-Ata April 26 TASS—The new television company Asia-TV was set up in the capital of Kazakhstan. Its founders are the joint bank of Kazakhstan and Saudi Arabia Al-Baraka, the Baykonur Cosmodrome and several state and public organisations of the USSR.

"Our programmes can be watched by fellow-citizens and people living in many other countries, because the company uses satellite communication," says Asia TV President Altyn Galiyeva. "By broadcasting programmes abroad about life in Kazakhstan promptly and impartially, we will, at the same time, help involve citizens of our republic in the activity of international organisations and joint international actions in the field of culture, ecology, public health, etc. We also intend to cooperate with the world's major television companies and create joint programmes."

In contrast to state republican television, Asia-TV operates on the principles of full-scale profit and loss accounting, self- financing and currency self-repayment, and independently develops and endorses its own programmes. In the new television company, journalists work under contract.